THE KNIGHT

VOL. IV. No. 6 Issue #24 The LITHUANIAN Numismatic Association April-May 1982 $2.00

KRAUSE WRITES

Chester L. Krause, president of Krause publications, the firm which publishes Numismatic News, World Coin News, Bank Note Reporter, and the Standard Catalog of World Coins, has replied to LNA charges that the placement of Lithuania under the USSR listing in their SCWC was a pro-Soviet move and that their firm has ignored the wishes of collectors and dealers alike. We thank Mr. Krause for responding and reproduce his entire letter here:

kp krause publications

IOLA, WISCONSIN 54990
715-445-2214

March 8, 1982

Mr. Frank Passic
1324B East 60th Street
Apartment 4-G
Tulsa, OK 74105

Dear Mr. Passic:

It isn't often that I am called upon to explain in basic terms why we do things in a specific manner, but I know of your deep concerns over the placement of Lithuania under the U.S.S.R. in the Standard Catalog of World Coins.

First, let me say that the use of Yeoman catalog numbers was done with agreement and full knowledge of Western Publishing Company. It was Dick Yeoman's feeling that the hobby shouldn't be subjected to conflicting numbering systems.

When Cliff and I conceived the Standard Catalog of World Coins we planned to list coins by denominations rather than type (the way Yeoman had catalogued and numbered.) We based this on the fact that American collectors collected this way. It was the traditional way of American cataloging and listing coins.

I wanted to explain this to dispell any misconceptions about our arrangement and use of Yeoman numbers. You should further understand that a numbering system unto itself is not a copyright. Please understand that does not allow someone to copy a catalog. The content itself is copyrightable

Now you should also understand, and I believe your letter indicates that you do, that Cliff and I as well as the entire cataloging staff are red blooded Americans and are as anti communist as you are.

The logic thst seems to bother you and others is why we have chosen a geographical rather than an alphabetical arrangement of coin issuing authorities. To help you understand this I am enclosing part of a production log for the next edition of the catalog.

I am sure it wouldn't take you long to determine that a strictly alphabetical arrangement doesn't make much sense. Case in point: Does it make sense to place Mato Grosso under "M" or is it better placed under Brazil.

Continued on page 4....

WE JOIN ANA

We are happy to announce to our membership that the Lithuanian Numismatic Association has joined the American Numismatic Association! Our club's membership number is C-117903. LNA member Vince Alones (Vince is also an ANA representative) handled the arrangements. Currently the ANA receives The Knight complimentary, and each issue is placed on their library shelf at headquarters in Colorado.

*********ANNOUNCEMENT BULLETIN***********

We are planning a meeting of the LNA for this August, at the ANA 91st annual convention, August 16-22 at the Boston Sheraton. We have lots of LNA members in the New England area, and Boston is known for it's Lithuanian population. Vince Alones will be handling the details. Watch for an announcement in the next issue of The Knight for time and place. Make plans now to attend! Tentative plans call for a slide showing of a complete set of Lithuanian paper money, including some beautiful specimen notes. Another speaker is also planned.

ANNUAL REPORT

By Robert Douchis
LNA DIRECTOR

With this issue we are completing our 4th year. Paid membership fell slightly from 98 to 89, which was not unexpected, due to the Recession.

To give you an idea of our association's expenses, we are including in this report a balance sheet for the year. For the benefit of our newer members, please note that there is neither staff nor profits. We are an association made up of volunteers, not-for-profit, educational, promoting the science of Lithuanian numismatics.

We have an open policy here. If you like what you read, let us know. If we miss the mark, let us know that, also. It is YOUR association. Along the same line, we need literary contributions. After 4 years without repeating ourselves, the research material pile is getting thin. If you have any source materials, we'd like to obtain photocopies. Articles are especially welcome. The editor usually writes everything himself, excepting those items sent in, which he is very happy to receive, as it reduces his work load.

Continued on page 2....

REPORT.... Continued from page 1...

Looking ahead, we expect to conclude Val Matelis' translation of Jonas K. Karys 1959 book on early Lithuanian coinage. I do hope you take the time to re-read this supplement. There is a wealth of historical information there! We'll also continue with the original research articles by Hank Gaidis and Vince Alones on Lithuanian Orders & Decorations. I've also been promised a couple of articles by others. One is the fascinating topic of Lithuanian sphragology.

It is membership renewal time again. We are going to try something different this year. You won't find a renewal coupon in this issue. Instead you'll soon be receiving separately in the mail a renewal notice. By "billing" I hope to get a better response. Last year I had to send out quite a few reminders (If you do renew right away, that will save us postage, and we won't have to bill you). Good news: despite increased postal costs and other increases, there will be NO increase in dues Membership remains $10 U.S. & Canada, and $20 for airmail overseas. We'll be looking for your renewal in the mail.

1981-82 BALANCE SHEET

INCOME

$ 93.00	Received from 1980-81
910.00	Membership dues
193.00	Membership gifts
70.00	Pre-paid 1982-83
105.00	Advertising, back issues, etc.
1371.00	

EXPENSES

$ 804.00	Issues 1-5 (including postage)
160.00	This issue (approx.)
20.00	Post Office box rental
20.00	ANA membership
25.00	Misc. postage, envelopes, etc.
1029.00	

BALANCE

$ 70.00	Pre-paid membership & gifts
272.00	Reserve
+ 342.00	

SAMPLE ISSUE (#5)

$ 57.25	Printing
21.00	Photos (half-tones "dotted")
11.55	Envelopes
72.86	Postage (notice: more than Printing!!!)
.70	Address labels
163.36	

THE KNIGHT. Vol. IV No. 5, Issue #24. The official publication of the Lithuanian Numismatic Association. Frank Passic, Tulsa, OK, EDITOR. Robert J. Douchis, Baltimore, MD, DIRECTOR. Membership/subscription for 6 bi-monthly issues: $10 U.S./Canada, and $20 airmail overseas. Write: LNA, P.O. Box 612, Columbia, Maryland, 21045.

OST TRENDS

As promised, here are the current TRENDS for the "OSTmoney" currency issued for Lithuania by Germany during World War I:

* * *

Ostbank fur Handel und Gewerbe Darhlenskassenschein. Posen [Poznan], 1916.

Pick	Denomination	VG	VF	UNC
R120	20 kopeken	2	4	8
R121	50 kopeken	2	4	8
R122	1 Rubel	2.25	4.50	9
R123	3 Rubel	7.50	15	30
R124	10 Rubel	10	20	40
R125	25 Rubel	15	35	60
R126	100 Rubel	15	35	60
	Darlehnskasse Ost, Kowno (Kaunas), 1918			
R127	1/2 Mark	2.50	5	10
R128	1 Mark	2.50	5	10
R129	2 Marks	4.50	9	17
R130	5 Marks	5	15	25
R131	20 Marks	10	20	35
R132	50 Marks	7.50	15	30
R133	100 Marks	12.50	25	50
R134	1,000 Marks	7.50	15	35

Note: The OST trends are for the least expensive variety for the note. More expensive varieties exist in several denominations.

CERTIFICATE

In our December/January issue, we featured on page 8 a copy of an Order of Gediminas certificate, We forgot to include an English translation of the text, which we now print here:

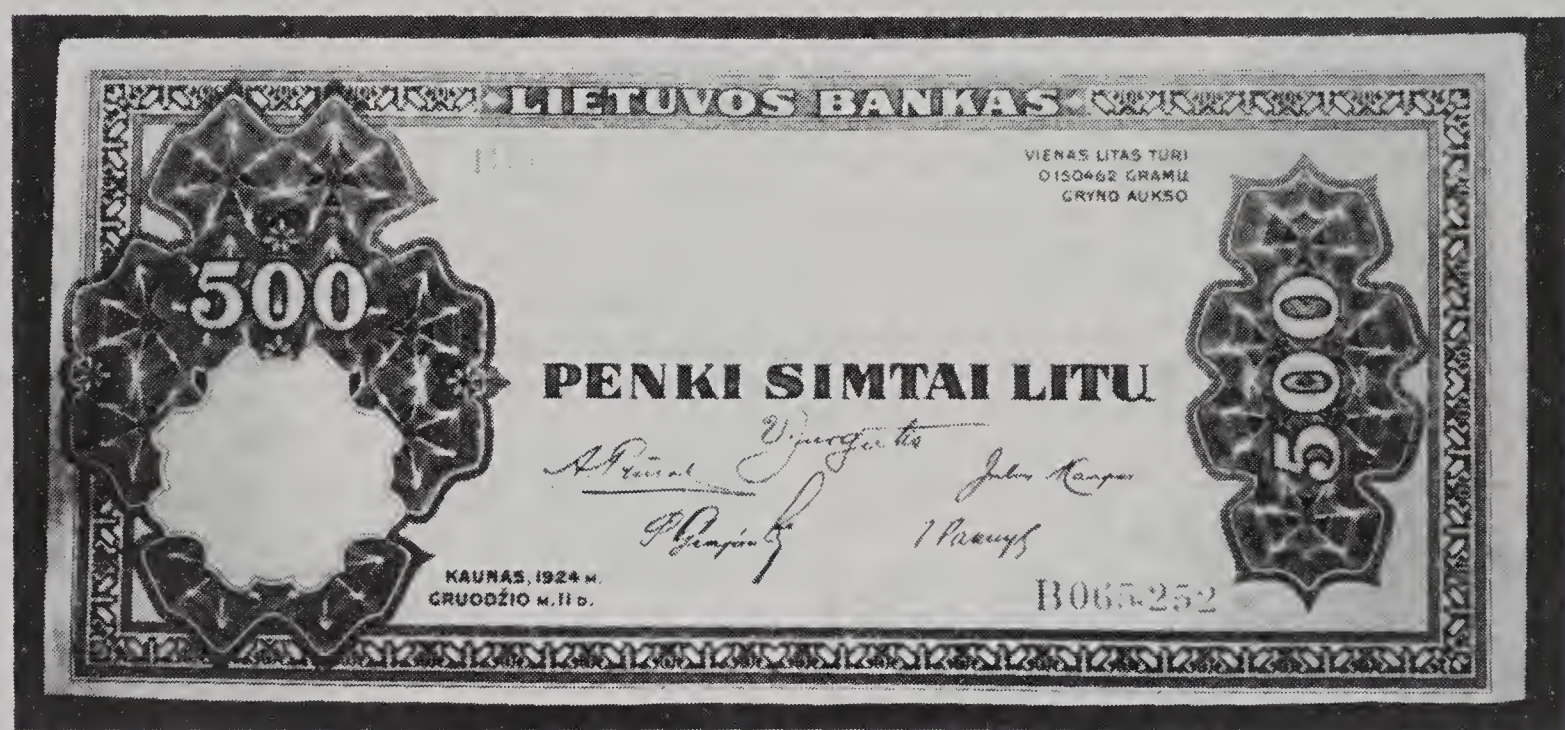
Republic of Lithuania
Order of Lithuanian
Grand Duke Gediminas
By Act of the President of the Republic
of Lithuania
Priest Ignas Albavičius
For Distinguished service to Lithuania,
This award is Presented.
Order of Gediminas lowest Class

(signed) Order Chancellor
(signed) Order Secretary
By Act of the President of the Republic,
Kaunas 1937, Month of May, 4th day,
No. 507.

* * *

We would like to continue to reproduce these certificates when we feature the articles. We need copies of these certificates: the Cross of Vytis, Order of Gediminas MEDAL, Order of Vytautas the Great MEDAL, and Life-saver's Cross. If you have any of these presentation documents or know of someone who does, please send us a good photocopy of it which we can reproduce in The Knight.

P-21 500 LITU, 1924



500 Litų
P-21
December (Gruodžio) 11, 1924
198 x 92 mm.
Colors: Brown, blue
Signatures: V. Jurgutis, A. Prūsas, Julius Kaupas, P. Grajauskas; J. Paknys.
Watermark: Columns of Gediminas.
Serial letters: A, B (Note: Platbarzdis only lists A)
Specimens: Perforated PAVYZDYS 13 mm. high on a circulation note; printers specimens of Bradbury, Wilikinson & Co. also known.

The 500 Litų banknote was ordered in Kaunas on December 11, 1924, and was placed into circulation on September 28, 1925. It was designed by artist Vilius Jomantas (1891-1960).

The obverse contains the standard text, within ornamentations. A crystal design and the denomination appear in the center. The reverse centers around a web-like design, and a circular shield in which appear the coat of arms of Kaunas, Vilnius, and Klaipėda.

At issuance, the 500 litas note was worth U.S. $50. The current trends are: UNC: 800, XF: 650, VF: 400, F: 300. In the past few years around a dozen or so have been reported on the numismatic market. It should be noted that brown spots, called "foxing" have appeared on the edges of numerous 500 litas notes, especially on the outside edge in the left corner near the watermark area. Those notes without these brown spots bring higher premiums on the market. Photo of note above courtesy Balzekas Museum.

KRAUSE Continued from page 1...

The question now asked, why not a traditional listing following the arrangement of Craig & Yeoman. That would be fine if there was such a defined listing. There is not. It is merely a figment of the imagination. Everyones being different.

It took an entire Sunday afternoon when preparing the first edition to unscramble Chad, Cameroon, Central African States, Equitorial African States into proper sequence. The names of Cameroon, Congo, Gabon and the Republic of Central Africa and Central African States all appear on coins issued by a single governing authority.

Too, in Yeoman's brown book a whole group of Arab countries were grouped into Arabian Emirates. Arabian Emirates is not a country, but was a means of handling a confusing area of coinage now under Yeoman.

The point is if one tries to unscramble and produce a book based on political inclinations you can literally get tied up in your own underwear. We tried for several editions and found ourselves having to constantly defend arbitrary placement of countries and city states.

If we were to have pursued to alpha-traditional arrangement West Germany (actually Federal Republic of Germany) would be placed under "F" and East Germany (German Democratic Republic) under "G".

Thia alao applies to China with the Peoples Republic and The Republic. Neither begins with a "C" and complicate this with auch things as Foreign Enclaves and the geographic arrangement begins to come into focus.

Too, you must remember that the Standard Catalog of World Coins is an international catalog and there an alphabetical arrangement gets its lid blow off as the United States of America would probably be listed under "E" in most languages.

To argue Frank, that Lithuania should be placed under "L" is a legitimate and honest request. For Lithuanians to brand Krause Publications communist sympathizers is not proper and I regret that some have become that incensed.

I trust that with this rather lengthy letter you have a clearer picture of the reasonings behind the general arrangement of the Standard Catalog of World Coins.

Sincerely,

Chet Krause

Chester L. Krause
Preaident

W.C.N.

The letter on the right appeared in World Coin News March 23, 1982 issue. Notice the last paragraph.

We at the LNA feel that Krause publications is not being sensitive to the collecting community which it is supposed to serve, and for them to continue to turn a deaf ear indicates either a very proud "don't bother us" attitude, or either something secret is going on that we haven't been told about.

We urge our members to continue to write Krause publications, and speak to them about the matter when they set up their booth at major coin shows.

Let them know that putting the listing of Lithuania under its rightful "L" section in the SCWC will be in the best interests of the numismatic community, and for their firm as well.

Write: Chester Krause, Krause Publications, Iola, WI 54990.

Many readers have already spoken out protesting the listing of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania under U.S.S.R. in the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*. I want to add my strong objection.

The U.S. government does not recognize Russia's hegemony over these captive republics. They were incorporated by force, illegally, into the Soviet Union. While a separate listing will not change their actual status, why give the Communists even a small propaganda victory?

In addition, there is another issue here that the *SCWC* editors should consider. When I surveyed my professional colleagues, *every one* who voiced an opinion expressed annoyance at the "bunch" listing of the three Baltic republics under U.S.S.R.! Some also mentioned their displeasure at the listing of the more familiar name Russia under the heading U.S.S.R. I agree as well.

If the editors want to be this technical, they'd have to list Great Britain under United Kingdom and Jordan under Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (No, editors, please don't!)

I believe the *SCWC* editors are taking a cavalier, thumb-the-nose attitude toward their public. Is anyone there listening?

Dennis Gill
Garden City, N.Y.

CHARLES MATUZAS

We hope you are enjoying our continuing series on Lith. military orders & decorations, by Vince Alones and Henry L. Gaidis. We would also like to give credit to LNA member Charles Matuzas, who did the original translation work. Of Matuzas, Vince Alones writes,

"Mr. Charles Matuzas was born in Lithuania and was brought to the U.S. at the tender age of 5 months. He is retired now 10 years, and when employed he worked in the textile industry. He is married and has two children. At one time Charles and his brother visited Lithuania many times and made documentary films and traveled around the Lith-American community showing the movies. He is one of the founders of the Lithuanian Philatelic Society of New York, and was the driving force behind the publication of the book, "Postage Stamps of Lithuania." He is very active in the philatelic field, but also collects Lithuanian memorabilia."

Dealer in Quality Rare Coins
Lithuanian & Polish
WRITE:
Karl Stephens, Inc.
Karl Stephens
President
Post Office Box 458
Temple City, Ca. 91780
ANA 57209
213-445-8154

FROM LAST ISSUE.....

We continue the chapter entitled "Finance of Lithuania" from the book The Economic Reconstruction of Lithuania After 1918, by Anicetas Simutis (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1942). This chapter has become a standard Lithuanian numismatic and economic reference source. This segment begins with page 106.

TABLE 48

THE ISSUE ACTIVITIES OF LIETUVOS BANKAS
1928–39

YEAR ENDING DEC. 31	BANK NOTES IN CIRCULATION (*Million litas*)	GOLD RESERVE (*Million litas*)	FOREIGN BILLS (*Million litas*)	PERCENTAGE OF COVERAGE IN GOLD AND FOREIGN BILLS
1928	84.77	34.27	43.62	91.9
1929	94.83	35.08	78.48	119.8
1930	117.16	39.39	86.32	107.3
1931	108.95	50.14	33.17	76.5
1932	96.21	49.07	15.96	67.6
1933	89.92	52.00	15.34	76.8
1934	88.24	52.14	8.38	68.6
1935	103.50	36.14	9.91	44.5
1936	110.35	73.10	4.08	69.9
1937	116.56	79.04	1.87	69.4
1938	141.70	64.75	4.83	49.1
1939	165.93	57.71	2.50	37.1

and foreign bills was comparatively high, being 49.1 percent.

The highest number of notes in circulation and the lowest coverage were reached in November, 1939. This situation was largely due to the disturbed economic conditions in Lithuania in that year. It will be recalled that in March, 1939, Lithuania was forced to give up her only port, Klaipeda. This transaction was executed in great haste, under the pressure of the German war machine, as a result of which it became necessary to support and furnish with food, shelter, and work about 15,000 refugees.

A few months later over 100,000 refugees from Poland poured into Lithuania, as a result of the war between Germany and Poland. Undoubtedly this circumstance caused a great drain on gold and foreign exchange reserves.

The litas was never devalued, and it held its original gold parity until Soviet occupation on June 15, 1940. Shortly after occupation the financial structure of Lithuania was destroyed entirely. The litas was substituted by the ruble. All savings accounts over 1,000 litas (approximately $165.00) were confiscated. Though the purchasing value of the Soviet ruble was much less than that of the litas, nevertheless the litas officially was rated at 90 kopeks (a kopek equals one-hundredth of a ruble). The Germans who replaced the Russians set the official exchange rate at 50 pfennigs, or half a German mark, to a ruble.

Continued on page 7.....

I. MUSTEIKIS

In our Vol. IV No. 4 (January, 1982), we featured a 1930 photo of the board of directors of the Bank of Lithuania. The signatures of these men appear on Lithuanian banknotes. We mentioned that we had no information on two persons: Jonas Masiulis, and Ignas Musteikis. LNA member Charles Matuzas has sent us information on both these men. This month we share information about Musteikis.

Colonel Ignas Musteikis was born July 25, 1890, in Vyžuonos, district of Utena. In 1915 he graduated from the Military Academy of St. Petersburg. During World War I he was active on the German front. In December of 1918 he joined as a volunteer in the newly organized Lithuanian army and was assigned as a batallion commander in the First Regiment.

In 1924 he went into the reserve, but by 1927 again returned to active duty. In that period through at least 1932 he served on the board of directors of the Bank of Lithuania. During World War II, in 1944 with many others, he fled Lithuania, to the Western Zone of Germany. In 1949 he came to the U.S.

We thank Mr. Matuzas for sharing this information with us. Does anyone know where Musteikis settled in the U.S., and his death date?

The photo of Musteikis above is taken from the book, Lietuvos Bankas 1922-1932 (Spindulys, Kaunas, 1932).

NOTICE

Since we began the series on Lithuanian military orders & decorations, authors Vince Alones and Henry Gaidis have received several inquiries regarding these decorations. Most involved the questions, "Where can I get these?" and "What is their value."

Vince has informed this editor that as present time there is no set market value on them, and that they seldom appear on the market. Most Lithuanian medals/decorations are in private collections, or in family estates. For this reason, we felt it wise not to set "trends" for these. If our readers have any other questions, feel free to write.

MEDAL OF GEDIMINAS

By Vince Alones and Henry L. Gaidis

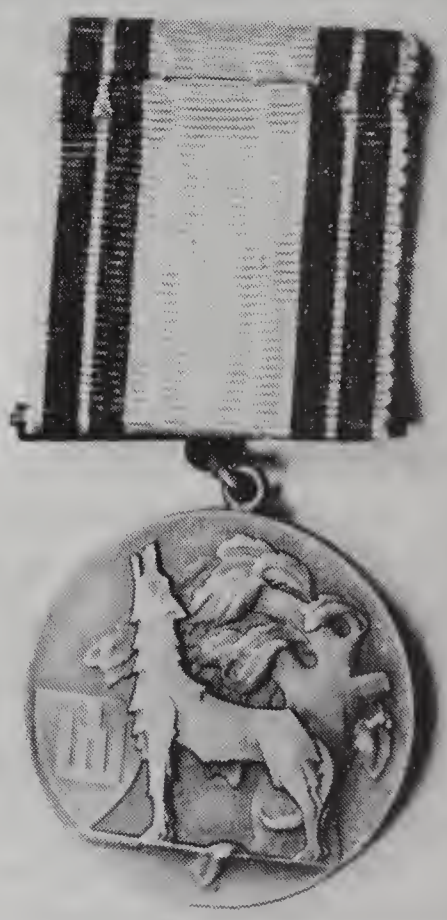
The Order of Gediminas was further extended by the establishment of a corresponding medal in three grades. This medal was established to honor those deserving Lithuania's gratitude, who had honorably discharged their duties in the military, government service, or public institutions with zeal and dedication. For those in the miligary, this medal was awarded to non-commissioned officers and enlisted men. It could also be awarded to foreigners.

The medal comes in three grades: 1st class in gold; 2nd class in silver, and 3rd class in bronze. 36 mm. in diameter, the medal is joined to the ribbon by a straight bar suspension clasp, through which passes a 32 mm. ribbon of yellow gold moire with two equal stipes of violet brown on each edge. The medal was attached to the uniform by a French-type pin which is 42 mm. long in the shape of a "U," which is sewn into the top of the ribbon.

The medal's obverse depicts the helmeted head of Grand Duke Gediminas, with the inscription around the edge reading, "Lietuvos Kunigaikstis Gediminas Didysis," or "Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas."

The reverse depicts a howling wolf, a familiar Lithuanian folklore animal. According to legend, when Gediminas was hunting one day and retired, he dreamt he saw an iron wolf howling on a hillside. Upon awakening, Gediminas consulted the pagan high priest Lizdeika, and was told that a great city would be built on the hill, and it's glory would be known throughout the world. Thus, Gediminas founded the capital city of Vilnius in 1323.

To the right of the wolf is an oak tree with one acorn on it. This symbol also goes into the past prior to the introduction of Christianity when the pagan Lithuanians worshipped the sun, thunder, and the mighty oak. To the left of the wolf, a shield with the crest of Gediminas, the "Columns of Gediminas" appears, representing the ancient gates of Vilnius. The medal was designed by Jonas Burba, whose name appears near the base/ground at the 5 o'clock position. The manufacturer's name, "Huguenin SC" appears by the wolf's front feet.



As with the Order of Gediminas, the corresponding Medal was awarded on February 16. The eligibility requirements were: 1st class: government, civil and citizens must have served for not less than 25 years. (Considering Lithuania had only 22 years of independence, imagine the rarity of this one). For 2nd class, the requirement was not less than 15 years. 3rd class was not less than 5 years. On special occasions of distinguished service, the medal could be awarded regardless of the amount of years involved. It could only be taken away by court action. Each medal came with it's own certificate.[NOTE: We need a photocopy of a certificate so we can reproduce it here] .

Those receiving the 1st and 2nd class medals were entitled to yearly pensions. 1st class recipients got 5 pensions of 100 litas', with 2nd class recipients receiving 5 pensions of 50 litas'; both became eligible upon reaching age 60. Those awarded the 1st class were also eligible for a one-time subsidy in case of misfortune or disaster.

As with all other Lithuanian orders and decorations, the Medal of the Order of Gediminas is today prohibited under the Soviet occupation of Lithuania. These decorations can now be seen worn by a few old veterans in exile, or in private collections. Any collector having the good fortune of having any of these should treat each one with reverence, as they symbolize Lithuania's freedom, which hopefully will be re-established some day.

STATE FINANCE

The state finance and the economic policy of the republic of Lithuania were guided by the minister of finance. In 1923, the first year for which statistics are available, the revenue amounted to 166.30 million litas against expenditures of 166 million litas.[9] The following year's revenue increased to 235.79 million litas and expenditures to 232.32, leaving a favorable balance of 3.47 million litas. The highest balance was gained in 1929 when the revenues of 293.79 million litas exceeded expenditures by 26.10 million litas. But in 1931 and 1932 expenditures exceeded revenue. In 1931 the total income amounted to 315.09 million litas, expenditures were 335.30 million litas, and the deficit was thus 20.21 million litas. In 1932 the deficit was somewhat smaller: 12.40 million litas. The budget of 1938 was practically balanced, the revenue amounting to 366.48 million litas, while the expenditures totaled 366.49 million litas. In 1939 revenues amounted to 361.78 and expenditures to 356.54 million litas. The growth of the budget during the years of independence was considerable, the 1938 figures being more than double those of 1923.[10]

The greater part of government income is received from indirect taxes, comprising excises, state monopolies, and customs duties. This group in 1936 yielded 22.59 percent of the total revenue; in 1937, 25.74 percent; and in 1938, 24.24 percent. Next in importance is the yield of government enterprises, comprising the revenue from post, telegraph, telephone, railways, and mixed enterprises in which the government has interest. Revenue from this group in 1936 accounted for 16.04 percent; in 1937, 15.60 percent; and in 1938, 14.76 percent. The third source of income according to percentage of the total revenue, is direct taxation, which in 1938 accounted for 14.38 percent.

In expenditures, the highest percentage goes to the Ministry of Defence, which in 1938 accounted for 23.24 percent of the total expenses. Second place falls to the Ministry of Communication, which in 1938 used 19.79 percent of total expenditures. Third place is held by the Ministry of Education, with 16.01 percent. Then follow the Ministry of Agriculture with 13.86 percent, the Ministry of Finance with 11.30 percent, and the Ministry of Interior with 8.70 percent.[11]

PUBLIC DEBT

The public debt of Lithuania is comparatively small; it is less than that of either of the other Baltic states, amounting at the end of 1937 to 47 litas per capita, while Latvia's was 80 litas and Estonia's 180 litas per capita.[12]

The debts of Lithuania may be divided into two groups:

[9] C.S.B., volume for 1927.

[10] *Lietuvos Banko Biuletenis No. 46*, Kaunas, 1939, p. 8.

[11] C.S.B., 1938, pp. 315–19.

[12] Report of C.C.I.C., *Ten Years of Lithuanian Economy*, 1938, p. 146.

MEMBERS

Here is our 1981-82 membership roster for the LNA. Should any member wish to write another, you can send the letter via us, and we will forward it to them; please include sufficient postage. We do not give out addresses.

Several newer members have asked for back copies. We are all out of back issues excepting for some scattered ones in Volume III, and the current Volume IV. These individual issues are $2.00 each. We suggest placing a free want-ad in The Knight. We'd hate to think that anyone would want to discard their old issues, but if so these should go to someone who wants them.

I= Institutional
CM= Charter member
* Made a gift in excess of membership fee.

CM*	Joseph Adomaitis, CT
CM	Rev. Peter J. Alisauskis, PA
180	Bernth Ahlstroem, NY
CM*	Vincent W. Alones, NY
I	ANA Library, CO
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CM*	John W. Balchunis, VA
CM	Balzekas Museum of Lith. Culture, IL
181	Paul Barbatavičius, CANADA
CM*	Dennis O. Bartaszkiewicz, N.J.
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I	Bridges Newsletter, NY
CM	Raymond R. Budd, OH
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I	Coin World, OH
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CM Theresa Lapinski, NY
124* Bronislaw Lazauskas, CT
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CM* Peter Leonard, PA
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I Lithuanian Legation, Washington, D.C.
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CM* Roland Martick, MA
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CM* V.L.G. Matelis, FL
CM Vito A. Matulonis
CM* Edward F. Mikutis, IL
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CM Missouri Numismatic Society, MO
168 Edward S. Muszynski, MICH
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131 Ivan L. Schuster, PA
126 Xavier Servais, BELGIUM
CM* Peter Shulin, PA
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148 Gediminas Vaitkus, NM
CM Raymond Variakojis, OH
CM William Velms, CT
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CM Toyo Yamamoto, OR
161* Kenneth C. Yurgil, IL
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175 Peter G. Zincus, MA

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(1) debts which originated in the period 1918–22 during the struggle for reëstablishment of the nation's independence and (2) subsequent debts contracted for reconstruction purposes. The debt to the United States for various medicaments, clothing, and foodstuffs obtained from the American military camps in France and from the American Relief Administration belongs in the first group. According to the agreement of September 22, 1924, with the United States, the principal was $4,981,628.03 and accrued interest of 4¼ percent from June 30, 1919, until June 15, 1924, amounted to $1,049,918.94, so that the total debt was $6,031,546.97. Of this amount, $1,546.97 was paid on September 22, 1924, and the remainder, $6,030,000, was to be funded into bonds bearing 3 percent interest until June 15, 1934, and 3⅓ percent after that date until the whole sum was paid. The principal was to be paid in the course of 62 years in fixed amounts each year. Thus, the first amount, $30,000, was due on June 15, 1925, and the last, $227,000, was to fall due on June 15, 1986.[13]

According to the estimate of Moulton,[14] Lithuania, up to June 30, 1931, had paid $1,128,600. The latest payments made by Lithuania to the United States were token payments in the sums of $10,000 on June 15, and $7,000 on December 15, 1933, but after the passage of the Johnson Act Lithuania made no further payments. On May 5, 1934, Attorney General Cummings of the United States pointed out that Lithuania was one among the six foreign governments[15] indebted to the United States government which was not in default under the terms of the Johnson Act, because she had made token payments as evidence of good faith in connection with her debt installments.[16]

According to later interpretations of the Johnson Act, however, the State Department on May 10, 1934, informed European debtor governments that while token payments would be acceptable on June 15 when the following installments on the war debts were to have been due, such payments would not serve to free them of being considered in default within the meaning of the Johnson Act.[17] Pressed by adverse economic conditions prevailing in that year, Lithuania was unable to meet her obligation and thus was classified "in default." It must be remembered, however, that exports of Lithuania in that year were the smallest since 1923 and the economic depression in general was at its worst.

Another sum in this group is the debt of 1920 to Great Britain for war material deliveries to the amount of 7,300,000 litas (£150,000). The total debts originating in the period of the struggle for independence amount to 50,700,000 litas.

[13] Dailide, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
[14] Harold G. Moulton and Leo Pasvolsky, *War Debts and World Prosperity*, Washington, D.C., 1932, p. 293.
[15] Finland, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Latvia, and Lithuania.
[16] *New York Times*, May 6, 1934.
[17] *New York Times*, May 11, 1934.

To be concluded next issue.

However, the issuer in this instance had no other interest but to strike half-talers and talers so that there would be no lack of them in circulation, and that such striking would be very profitable. However, an unexpected accident turned this situation upside down.

You see, at this particular time (1564) S,gismund Augustus received from Spain a large shipment of foreign half-talers and talers,,part of a loan which his mother, Bona, had previously made to Phillip II. The war with Moscow consumed unusual sums of money. Pressed by adversity, Sigismund Augustus quickly countersigned these foreign coins, and establishing a compulsory exchange rate, placed them into circulation. That rate was established in (Poland's) royal funds, at 60 groshes to the taler. Considered with relation to the existing silver content in the coins, the taler's real value was barely 33.5 grašių, while computing it with Lithuanian coins, even lower. The Treasury, as we have seen, made tremendous profits, but such inflated value assigned to foreign coins caused a sharp division with our own. In these circumstances, the Vilnius half-talers and talers, clearly, could not hold their own, and as many as wereissued, disappeared soon after, and there was no further reason tocontinue striking them. Snatching the better coins never seemed to weary the speculators.

As we see, the obverse of Lithuanian half-talers andtalers were not complicated. We have seen the monogram and portrait of Sigismund Augustus earlier. Notwithstanding the numerous inscriptions on other coins of this ruler, only the denomination and date of striking are shown. On the reverse of the half-taler and the 1564 taler, six separate emblems were bunched together: the Polish eagle, the Lithuanian Knight, S. Sugustus' mother's Bona (Sforza) "choker" (or serpent), the Russian angel, the bear of Kiev and the cross of Volynia.[21] All this was capped with the ducal crown. The eagle is accorded precedence heraldically. That is a

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21 a) People considered the emblem of Bona a snake, and termed it so. In reality, the emblem was some kind of "choker," swallowing some child of unknown sex (according to Siebmacher--"A blue snake with a naked child in its throat" Gross. U. Allgem.Wappenbuch, I, 1, Pg. 8, pav. 7).

b) Concerning the angel: according to Russian sources, "russkaja zemlia, teritorija russkavo gosudarstva" XI-XVII centuries. In a narrower historical sense--"oblast plemeni Polianov v drevnej Rossiji" (now--Belacerkovskij province, Kieve state). That Russia belonged to the Grand Duchy. Niesieckis writes that the angel was already pictured on some of Gediminas' seals (See Herbarz Polski, I, 549.

c) To some, it appeared that the bear pictured on one of these emblems was not from Kiev, but from the Lowlands [Samogitia, western Lithuania] [The Samogitian animal is a lion, not a bear. Dr. A. Račkus perpetuated the "theory" that the bear was from the Samogitian symbol.] . An error! We must know that the Samogitians were not along in the past to use a bear upon their flags, but a whole series of other countries, lands and towns. Among them was Kiev, which pictured this animal on one side of its flag. But all these bears could be distinguished from one another by something (compare Kulm, Novograd, Kiev, several of Switzerland's cantons, the original Republic ofCalifornia, and the Berlin bear; that same giant animal, only pictured in some different way, can be found on the ensigns of eminent Russians (Garagini, Galicini, Lvov, Prozorovski, etc). The essential differences between the Samogitian [lion] and the Kiev bear: the first stands erect on its hind legs, stretching forward both front feet, as if to "hug" someone. The latter (Kiev) crawls along the ground, with only the left front foot held in the air.

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courtesy to the Poles. However, for some unknown reason, the 1565 taler appeared lacking all that potpourri of emblems: on the obverse circled by an unusually wide band, was the portrait of Sigismund Augustus (the bost). On the reverse, a crowned "SA" monogram, the denomination and the year of striking.

Among Lithuanians, talers were popularly known as "puskapiai" (half the 60 unit) and occasionally "puskapemis," since nominally they contained 1/2 a kapa of grašis, so it is marked "XXX" or 30. Merchants called them talers and guilders, as it was internationally. The Poles attached their own word---"zlotowki," and one of them became "zloty." From this in time arose the adopted "auksinas" in Lithuania, which represents an unsuccessful translation of the Polish "zloty."

Historically and linguistically,, the clearest word in Lithuanian for Sigismund Augustus' taler was an is "puskapis" (threescore). The word "gulden" did not characterize this coin and finally was discarded. However, we must respect the "taler," since this was a very popular international word, attached everywhere to a large silver coin, similar to out "Puskapis." The genesis of the coin "taler" was found in Tyrol "Guldengroschen," which appeared in 1484. That coin originally weighed about 32 grams. It's silver content, 0.940, so it equaled the 60 German "kreuzers" and corresponded to the local gold "guilden" (floren).

But "Guldengroschen" did not find wide acceptance, and even locally did not survive long. It was eliminated by another large silver coin begun in Bohemia by the Graf von Schlick in 1519. Since Schlick's coin mint was located in JOACHIMSTHAL, his coin soon took the name of "Joachimsthaler Muenze." Later, the "Joachims" and "Muenze" was dropped in speech.There remained only the "THALER." [The problem of Polonization is reproduced at the bottom of the following several pages, to familiarize the reader, and help understand how this affected Lithuanian coin standard and mintage policies. Taken from the Encyclopedia Lituanica :]

POLONIZATION, as the term is used here, means the gradual penetration of Polish language, customs, and cultural features in general into the fabric of Lithuanian life. More or less favorable conditions for such a process existed from the late 14th century onwards, when the first of a series of ever stronger political links between Lithuania and Poland was forged, until the early 20th century, when the two countries again went their separate ways as independent, more or less discrete nation-states. Not all of the factors which furthered Polonization have as yet been explored in great detail, nor is there agreement on the evaluation of its effects and significance. Polish writers proudly stress that the introduction of Lithuania into the sphere of Western Christian civilization is a Polish merit. Lithuanian writers dolefully point out the debilitating effects of Polonization on Lithuania's upper strata and the melting away of many once ethnically Lithuanian territories.

Prior to the end of the 14th century, Polish presence in Lithuania was limited largely to prisoners of war captured during the frequent mutual forays which characterized Lithuanian-Polish relations until then. When Lithuanian Grand Prince Gediminas' daughter Aldona married Polish Prince Casimir (1325), later known as Casimir the Great, a significant number of these prisoners were returned to Poland. That the latter could have had any influence on Lithuanian society is an unfounded supposition. Of much greater significance is the so-called Lithuanian-Polish Union enacted at Kriavas (q.v.) in 1385, whereby Lithuanian Grand Prince Jogaila became King of Poland and released all Polish prisoners, and which preceded the first major peaceful Christianization effort (1387) in then still heathen Lithuania. These developments opened the way for Polish clergymen to exert their influence on the latter country's public life.

With the exception of a few Czechs, the bishops, priests, monks, and nuns admitted into Lithuania were all Poles, just as the two newly established Lithuanian dioceses (Vilnius and Medininkai) were assigned to the archdiocese of Polish Gniezno. The Polish hierarchy blocked efforts at establishing a separate church province for Lithuania and championed the requirement that Lithuanian candidates for the priesthood study at the University of Cracow, reestablished by King Jogaila in 1400. Only when the Academy of Vilnius was opened in 1579 was Polish pressure on the latter of the two points overcome. Even so, the continuing shortage of native priests necessitated the appointment of Poles as canons and parish priests and thus the circumvention of the law stating that no foreigner may hold higher office in Lithuania (Lithuanian Statute, III-3, 1529). In his report (1579) on the Samogitian diocese of Medininkai, ecclesiastical auditor Tarquinius Peculus remarked that its priests had not learned Lithuanian even after living several years among the people. Writing about the same diocese to his superior general in Rome (1595), the Jesuit Makowski observed that a priest

This coin was first-rate from all aspects--it was large, clean and attractive, so without much delay it was imitated outside of Bohemia's borders. In other Germanic countries similar coins vied with one another in attractiveness. Their number grew and of course, as magnificent coins, they were kindly received everywhere. Together with them came their name and the name taler (thaler) clung to them. Because of the primary tie of large silver coins with a gold coin, the "gulden," traveling merchants would also call the talers "guldens." When the 30 grašių coins of Žigismund Augustus were placed into circulation, the taler and gulden were already well-known in Lithuania (and Poland); so it is not surprising that the names of these large silver coins, which were international, would have adhered to the quite sizeable Lithuanian coins. The taler dominated. The gulden was heard less often. However, among Lithuanians, their own taler, as we have said, was most often called the "puskapis."

The "puskapis" (taler) was the first such large and pretty silver coin in the joint Lithuanian-Polish state. Since in that coin there were incorporated 30 grašių, as were theoretically groshes in the Polish "zlote," in the Polish language and documents it was soon given another name: "zloty." The rapidly polonizing Lithuanian boyars readily spread this name through their manors, their towns, through their parishes with transplated rectors they had appointed, and throughout the entire Grand Duchy. So it was that our "puskapis" became polonized in time, as was the entire upper class of our people. So did the word "zlotas" become "auksinas" in our untutored language.

"Zlotas" was an old term in Poland, originating there as early as the 14th century. The Poles called golden ducats, "zlotas," which would stray into Poland from Hungary, Italy, Holland. "Zlotas," means gold in Polish. The Poles did not have golden coins at that time. At the beginning, these foreign ducats were valued at 14 groshes in Polish money, but by degrees they began to appreciate. When they reached 30 groshes, by a decision of the Congress in 1496, the value of the ducat was stabilized. It was forbidden to pay more for it. However, this prohibition was not heeded in the money market. The value of the ducat rose to 32 groshes, even to 35 and more, because the ducat remained steady while the groshes continued to tumble. So that decision of the Congress for a fix at 30 groshes became known as the "Polish zloty," while the gold ducat---the "red zloty" (czerwony zloty.).

These double "zloty" continued in the Polish monetary system for more than a century, although their eciprocal exchange rate, with the debasement of silver currency, constantly changed to the disadvantage of the

who knew Lithuanian was a rare occurrence there. The situation did not improve in the wake of the Reformation, which placed such a prominent emphasis on the use of native tongues. Only in Lithuania Minor (East Prussia), which was under German rule, did the spread of Lutheranism prompt the publication of the first Lithuanian religious books (*see* Mažvydas) and the introduction of Lithuanian services into Lutheran churches. In Lithuania Major, however, they continued being held in Polish, even where Calvinism had succeeded in temporarily dislodging Catholicism. Lithuanian Chancellor Nicholas Radvilas, the country's most zealous and powerful Calvinist, invited Polish Calvinists to Lithuania and printed religious and other writings in Polish, including the Brest edition of the Bible (1564), which became a monument to the Polish language. The entire Polish Christian missionary effort in Lithuania from 1387–1912 is surveyed in Msgr. Kazimieras Prapuolenis' work *Polskie apostolstwo na Litwie* (1913), which though written from a pro-Lithuanian point of view, contains much first-hand documentary material.

The role of Christian churches in transmitting Polish cultural influences to Lithuania was but a component of a more general functional structure whereby the close political relationship between the two states and the collaboration and interaction between their respective aristocracies resulted in an acculturation process favoring the Polish side. The first more extensive contacts between Lithuanian and Polish noblemen followed the Act of Kriavas (1385) and involved social mingling at the courts of Vilnius and

deteriorating grosh. At the end of the 16th century there was paid for a ducat, two "Polish zloty" (60 groshes). In the middle of the 17th century it was 4; and during the course of the 18th century the ducat reached a height of 8 and even more "Polish zloty."

Still, let us keep in mind that the "Polish zloty" we refer to was not a coin like Sigismund Augustus' "puskapis," but just a coequal idea, taking into consideration an amount of 30 groshes. So, when a pretty Lithuanian "puskapis" appeared, there remained no doubt in the mind of a Pole, nor of a Polonized Lithuanian boyar, that this 30 grašių coin is the same as the "Polish zloty." However, to positively call a Lithuanian coin a "Polish zloty" was not conceivable, so in the Polish language it was just called "zloty." The Poles did not have their own "zloty"coin with a nominal value of 30 groshes until the days of John Casimir (in the second half of the 17th century); and this coin did not equal by far the Lithuanian "puskapis," since it was issued smaller and with a lot lower silver content. More through ancient usage than by real value, the Polish zloty coin was apprraised not at 30 grašių, as was noted on the coin, but at 24 and even less grašiai (its real value never rose over 13 Polish groshes). When the monetary systems of both countries finally joined, both the Lithuanian "puskapis" and the Polish "zloty" were named the same "auksinas" in Lithuania. But since they were never equalized, it was proscribed by either word or script, which zloty or auksinas the participants to a contract had in mind concluding the deal, Polish money or Lithuanian reckoning. (See Historical Sources, I, 186, 195, 216, 260, etc.).

In addition to "zloty," the Polish 30 grosh coin was also popularily known there as "zlotowka." This term cannot be translated into Lithuanian. All else, wherever it was possible, the Polonized Lithuanian boyars "Polonized" with might and main. If it were not for our stiffnecked peasantry, during the times of union of Poland/Lithuania, our language, alas, would have dissolved to its foundations. And the "puskapis," a true Lithuanian coin's name, the peasantry has retained for us, though in its stead we were offered "auksinas", monstrously fabricated from "zloty."

The Polish "zloty" coin (zlotowka) demonstrated once more to Polish chauvinists, how poorly Poland succeeded in competing with its coins as against Lithuania. Reminding themselves of the splendid Lithuanian (as they would say) "Zloty" (puskapis), they gave their all to the lesser Polish "zlotowka," as least in this fashion: they began to nickname it "Týmpfo," from that pettyfogger from Torn, A. TYMPFO, who proposed this coin and administered its

Cracow as well as the employment of Polish secretaries in Lithuanian chancelleries and diplomatic offices. At that time Poland was more highly feudalized, its nobility more extensively privileged. The acceptance of Western baptism by Lithuanian noblemen thus went hand in hand with a gradual raising of their social status in imitation of the Polish exemplar and in contrast to the unchanging status of the Orthodox noblemen who held sway in the eastern or Rus' part of Lithuania (*see* Privileges). According to the Acts of Horodle (q.v. 1413), 47 noble Lithuanian families were given Polish coats-of-arms, thus symbolically admitting them into the circle of Polish nobility; part of the Polish administrative pattern was extended into Lithuania by the carving out of so-called palatinates, governed by a palatine and his assistant, a castellan; and common assemblies, or diets, of the aristocracy were agreed upon. The land reform of 1564–66 created additional palatinates (Pol. *województwo*) and districts (Pol. *powiat*) and established Polish-type district courts. These developments augmented the prestige and political power of the Lithuanian nobility at the expense of both king and peasantry, which in turn encouraged the further Polonization of the country's administrative and social structure. Mixed marriages became frequent, and Polish replaced Lithuanian as the everyday language of the upper classes. Some influence was also exercised by the numerous native Poles, mainly servants, stewards, craftsmen, artisans, etc., who settled in Lithuania. At the same time, however, the Lithuanian nobility, espe-

production (finally, backed to the wall for his dishonorable dealings, he fled Poland). As though justifying themselves for the "Lithuanianizing" of the "puskapis" into "auksinas," our Samogitians translated "tympfo" into Lithuanian "timpa."....

Regardless of everything that might go wrong with the "zlotowka," the Poles did not abandon their "zloty." In the days of Stanislaus (the second half of the 18th century) the 30 grosh "zloty" became the basic unit of the Polish monetary system, and again there appeared a silver "zlotowka" in that denomination. After the partition of the Polish-Lithuanian state, and Napoleon's unsuccessful drive to Moscow, Poland began to strike Russian-Polish coins for a time, among them a 15-kopeck Russian or 1 "zloty" silver piece, thereby of necessity conceding that in 15 kopecks there were 30 smaller parts similar to "groshes" (in reality, there were 2 half-kopecks in each Russian kopeck, which certain "numismatists" term "skatikas" without foundation. [i.e. Karys is talking about Dr. Račkus' writings]. Thus occured the final degeneration of the Polish "zloty," constantly debased over the centuries. During the time of Russian occupation, the Czar's 15-kopeck silver unit continued to be named "zloty" in Poland, while in Lithuania, it was known as the "auksinas," slipped into our language from of old.

FIGURE 90. Russian-Polish coins: a) a 15-kopeck or 1 "zloty." b) 25 kopecks or 50 groshes.

Such briefly summarized, is the history of the "zloty." It would not have been worthy of lengthy review, if someone, at some time, had not determined to translated "zloty" into "auksinas,"

cially its upper crust, fought for the consolidation of its newly gained positions by insisting on the preservation of an integral Lithuanian state with a substantial amount of sovereignty. Such a state, even though it shared a common monarch with Poland and mirrored many features of its administrative and social structure, nevertheless possessed its own separate administrative bodies, through the high offices of which the aristocracy could continue exercising its power. The most powerful Lithuanian aristocrats, therefore, resisted Polish efforts to collapse the two formally united states into a single entity, at times threatening to disrupt the union altogether. On the other hand, total separation, as before the Act of Kriavas, was never achieved, largely because of the necessity for a common defense against the military pressure of an increasingly active Muscovy, but also because of the not as yet satisfied class ambitions of the petty nobility, who still had not quite attained to the level of rights and prestige possessed by the lower rank of the Polish nobility (Pol. *szlachta*) and therefore sought its aid in conspiring against the upper crust. These developments finally led to the Union of Lublin (1569), which fortified the position of the nobles, but preserved in a more limited fashion the separation of Lithuania and Poland, henceforward jointly referred to as a commonwealth or dual republic. This union also strengthened the base of the on-going cultural assimilation.

Scattered outcries against the linguistic aspect of this assimilation found no resonance within the ruling strata. Lithuanian nobleman Michael Tiškevičius, writing under the assumed name Michalo Lithuanus, urged his fellow countrymen to return to, and make official, their "ancient Latin language"; like others of his age he was influenced by humanism and a recent concern for ancestry and thus took seriously the myth that Lithuanians were descendants of the Romans (*see* Genealogy). A few decades later Canon Mikalojus Daukša, in a Polish preface to his Lithuanian translation of the Postill (1599), recommended that the Lithuanian language be employed on a universal basis throughout Lithuania. But the Polonization of the nobility had already progressed too far for Daukša's appeal to elicit any favorable response.

The Electoral Diet of 1697 passed a *coaequatio iurium* (equalization of rights) requiring, among other things, that all judgments in district courts be written in Polish. From that time on Polish became the official language of the commonwealth (replacing other Slavic and to some extent the Latin language). Long before that the churches had embarked upon the practice of keeping their baptismal and other registers in the Polish language, so that Lithuanian surnames were generally known in their Polonized version. It thus became difficult to determine from the last name who was Polish and who Lithuanian.

The Diet of Warsaw (1788-92), held after the first partition of Poland and Lithuania, promulgated a new constitution (May 3, 1791) which established one Polish Commonwealth or Republic *(Rzeczpospolita Polska)*, with Lithuania as a subordinate — not equal — part. This state of affairs — which lasted until the total dissolution of the state in 1795 (*see* Partitions) — came about as a natural consequence of centuries-long Polonization. It was the result not of imperialism or colo-

and by that translation, covered up the satisfactory Lithuanian word---"puskapis." Alas, it happened. We do not know, and probably will never know, who performed the instant "bear's work," but we recognized the error, and it is high time to correct it. True, no language can grow without foreign accretions, when nations communicate with their neighbors. Foreign words and phrases flooded and continue to flood everywhere, where man exists, and civilization and culture grow. But the golden mean is to accept only those foreign words without which it would be impossible to progress. Can we say that about the word "auksinas?"

Let us probe deeper. In discussing Lithuania's historical money, we never complained about "denar," "grašis," "taler," or not even against "obol," which came into our language from abroad with our oldest coins (just because of similarity), and became part of our language automatically. The "ruble" of the Russian occupatns we accepted without annoyance and called it "rublis;" the kopeck as "kapeika," The German mark we called "marke," and the "pfennig" as fenigas. The Bolsheviks' "červoncas" comes from Lithuanian lips as červoncas. However, we cannot accept such a peculiar translation---not a translation, as "auksinas," which has not only given us nothing, but has really led us astray. Was evern the "puskapis" of Sigismund Augustus (the coin) or a handful of 30 Lithuanian grašių called an "auksinas?" Never!! That coin, and the 30 grašių as a subsidiary reckoning unit, from the very beginning contained within itself an even half of threescore (kapa) of Lithuanian grašių. And the even half of this or that unit, the Lithuanian knew earlier and continues to know as puskapis. The large silver coin of Sigismund Augustus was issued into circulation at a time when the Poles did not yet have such a coin. That is to say, the puskapis would not become a zloty even on the lips of an objective Pole, since our 30 grašių denomination coin was entirely novel to Lithuanian-Polish ears. To trace it from a Polish root "zloty," which as we have already said, was a dual concept--"zloty polski" and "czerwony zloty" could have no basis whatsoever. On the other hand, after initiating much later a similar coin of their own, the Poles could (and there was a basis for it) have found a suitable name for it in Lithuania. And there was a selection: in addition to puskapis, foreign merchants pressed into use "taler," and "gulden," since the named coin of Sigismund Augustus was in many respects similar to the taler and gulden. But the more "highly cultured" Poles maneuvered out of that. They managed to name the earlier Lithuanian coin by the same name as they used for their later coin, and for purely Lithuanian use, they pushed an unscientific translation of "zloty," offered, asit seems, even in the days of a "handful of zloty" (30 grašių)...

nization, but of a process of social and cultural permeation and consequent domination through the institutions of state, church and class. Eastern Lithuania (Aukštaitija), containing the capital city Vilnius, was more subject to this process than was western Lithuania, especially Samogitia, where class differentiation was not as severe. Even more striking was the contrast between the gentry and the peasantry across regional boundaries: when the former had already more or less uniformly succumbed to Polonization, the latter in its core still clung to the Lithuanian language, customs, even many beliefs and practices of the ancient pre-Christian folk religion. The social status of the serfs, and of the free peasants as well, kept them at a low level of literacy and education, rendering them less permeable to Polonizing cultural influences and at the same time incapable of exerting any influence of their own on the ethnically drifting upper classes. The conservatism and tenacity of the peasantry, though secured at the expense of frightful social oppression, provided that vital continuity on which the national regeneration movement was to build in the latter half of the 19th century.

During the period that Lithuania was absorbed into the Russian Tsarist empire (1795–1915) the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles took either one of two distinct directions: total assimilation or self-conscious separation. The majority of the Polonized Lithuanian landlords and intel-

Beyond all this, the word "zloty" in the Polish language does not even fit their own 30 grosh coin accurately. "zloto" means gold. "zloty" means golden. But that is their morphological business. If the word had been Lithuanianized into "golden," (auksinis), we would have had a good translation, but again it would not have accorded to rules of honest reasoning. Not only Sigismund Augustus' 30 grašių coin, but also the 30 grašis subsidiary reckoning monetary unit had nothing in common with gold---the grašis and its component coins in Lithuania (and Poland) consistently were made of better or worse silver.

What does "auksinas" actually say in Lithuanian? Why, by analogy, as much as "suodinas" (sooty), "murzinas" (dirty), "dulkinas" (dusty), "muilinas" (soapy), "paišinas" (soily). [auksin<u>as</u> would translate, "goldy". With the <u>is</u> ending it translates as "gold<u>en</u>."] So, if we asked, all these words would reply to the question "what kind?", but not one would reply to the question, "What?" Auksinas, like mark, ruble, franc, lit, lat, had to be a noun, but it came out as some kind of an adjective. What is auksinas, purvinas, suodinas, murzinas? Finally, let someone attempt to "retranslate" that disaster back into Polish, from which it was husked. Whoever knows the language would undoubtedly say that from the word "auksinas" you can't get "zloty" or "zlotowka," nor any other pronoun with a sensible meaning in Polish.

Naturally, we should not be surprised at the intelligence of our linguists of that period---it had been long diluted by ill-conceived tendencies. The Lithuanian language was a "peasant's tongue," neglected denigrated, used only in villages, where no one participated in high state affairs. However, the resurrection of the "auksinas" in 1919, adjusting this ill conceived word in Lithuania after the 1st World War, temporarily stuck in as a monetary unit during the German occupation, is much less forgiveable. It seems that they wanted to "Lithuaniaze" the internationally known mark, but the result was a repeated error.

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The renouned mother of Sigismund Augustus, Bona, finally sated with the royal manor at Cracow, left Poland in 1556 and returned to Italy, from

ligentsia fell into the former groove. They thought of themselves as Poles of Lithuanian origin, where "Poland" was held to be the name of a full-fledged national unit while "Lithuania" was more of a geographical concept, designating a certain region within Poland. This was captured by the Latin saying *gente lituanus, natione polonus* (Lithuanian by descent, Polish by nationality), by which some tried to express their identity. Languishing under Russian oppression, dreaming of reestablishing the vanished Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth, fired by the flame of romanticism and national liberation then spreading through Europe, these Lithuanian Poles immersed themselves into their past and created a patriotic literature in Polish in which the heroic deeds of their forbears were extolled in proud exuberance or elegiac nostalgia without distinction as to whether they were Polish or Lithuanian. The Russian administration allowed Polish to become the language of instruction at the University of Vilnius and all other Lithuanian schools (1816); a project to establish a department of Lithuanian was not carried out. The university thus became a breeding place of Polish romantic nationalism and a shelter for secret student organizations. Both anti-Russian uprisings of 1831 and 1863 in Lithuania followed similar uprisings in Poland and were led in large part by pro-Polish leaders. But among the latter were also some who expressed separatist tendencies, causing friction within the rebel leadership. The split between these two "brother nations" as they were often referred to grew deeper as a result of Russian policies; for example, while a ban was imposed on Latin alphabet publications in Lithuania (1864–1904), no such prohibition was extended to Poland, although Polish was replaced by Russian in the schools. This prompted the printing of Lithuanian, Latin-alphabet books and periodicals abroad and the smuggling and secret distribution of them throughout Lithuania, an endeavor which was the most dramatic manifestation of an emerging Lithuanian anti-Russian resistance separate from that which the Poles carried on more aboveground in their estates and churches. This Lithuanian movement, comprised of rustic book-smugglers and led by a new intelligentsia arising out of the hitherto uneducated peasantry, likewise attracted the support of some noblemen. To the Poles this phenomenon seemed incomprehensible; they regarded it as some kind of aberrant behavior which they called "Lithuanian mania" *(Litwomania)*. The Polonized church hierarchy, particularly in the Vilnius diocese, embarked on even more strenuous efforts at assimilation by assigning only Polish-born priests to predominantly Lithuanian parishes and forbidding services in the Lithuanian language. Lithuanian complaints, including memoranda to Rome, had no great effect,

whence she had been taken in marriage.[22] She took with her gigantic wealth, of which she lent a part to Spain's King Phillip II[23], a great lover of arms and war. After hear death, her only son and heir Sigismund Augustus, required repayment of that loan from Spain to him. After a few years of correspondence and debate, in 1564 a part of the debt to start---silver talers and half-talers (silver ducats and 8 reales (pieces of eight)] of Phillip and of Emperor Charles V (there were also mixed in a few smaller coins) was brought into Poland.[24] There was no time to restrike these foreign coins into local currency (it was necessary to pay past due wages of the army, and the Treasury was empty), so the Royal Council decided to place into circulation these foreign coins, countersigned. The entire delivery was transmitted to Vilnius, and here the crowned monogram of Sigismund Augustus with the date 1564 in the die, was stamped by the mint with the countermark.[25]

Issuing these coins, a Royal Order of Sigismund was publically announced (signed May 16, 1564) which proclaimed their origin and countermark, setting an exchange rate of 60 Polish groshes to 1 taler. At that rate, they were to be accepted in public circulation and government depositories. The least resistance by the public was punishable by heavy penalties. However, in government circles it was well known that the real value of these countersigned talers was much lower than the established nominal rate. So Sigismund August assured all by his "royal word"

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[22] She was the daughter of the Prince of Milan and Bari, Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza. She was married to Sigismund the Elder in1518, and died in Bari in 1557. She wielded lots of influence both in Poland and Lithuania, owned an entire chain of manors and commanded many officials, whom she appointed and controlled...

[23] Teams of 500 pack horses carried her wealth out of Poland. In money alone she removed 200 million zlotv, of which she lent Phillip 430,000 ducats (at the exchange rate of 1938, about 10 million lits [or 1.6 million U.S. dollars of 1938] . See Jurgutis' "Money," 224). All this she "saved# through 38 years, ever sucking more avidly the bloody sweat of Polish and Lithuanian peasants. There was no mercy shown in her manors. People starved on chaff, grass and leaves, while at the same time grain flowed from here "graineries," by the wagonload intoforeign markets, for the gold which could be gotten there. On one occasion, the Samogitian Karuža dared to notify Bona of her peasants' misery and begged her to permit the opening of her "graineries". The result: he was only ridiculed by Bona. (Historical Sources, I, 124).

[24] Another portion of the said loan Phillip IV returned in the 17th century. The remainder , it was "frozen" in Spain for the ages.

[25] In V. Jurgutis' "Money," (page 224), it is stated that these coins were decorated with the Columns of Gediminas. But this is not in accord with the truth.

as the influence of the Polish hierarchy was much greater in Vatican circles than that of the Lithuanian nationalist Catholics. When one of the latter, Msgr. Antanas Dambrauskas-Jakštas, urged (1903) the Polonized Lithuanian nobility to join in the Lithuanian national movement, an angry reply came in the form of an article entitled *Przenigdy!* (Never, never!). Thus there was great resistance among Polish leaders to granting Lithuanian as well as Ukrainian and Belorussian national movements the same recognition and respect that the Poles awarded themselves vis-à-vis the Russians. Envisioning the establishment of an independent state with the boundaries of the old pre-1795 commonwealth, they regarded the three just-mentioned ethnic groups as minorities to be ethnically subordinated to the ruling Polish majority. However, the Lithuanian separatist movement was already too strong and too popular among the Lithuanian masses for these Polish visions to be at all realistic. The year 1918 saw the proclamation of an independent Lithuanian republic within the boundaries of roughly ethnic Lithuania, separate from all previous ties with Poland and Russia. During the next two years the fledgling army of this republic engaged in a fierce struggle with Polish Nationalists (as well as Russian Bolsheviks and German-Russian Bermondtists) to protect its territorial integrity.

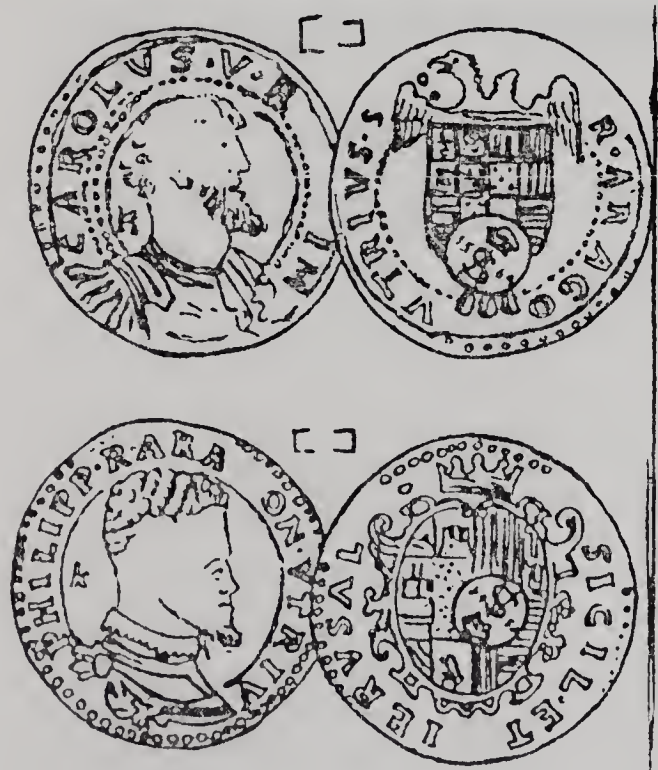
During this struggle the Polish head of government was Marshal Józef Pilsudski (q. v.), the scion of an old but Polonized Lithuanian aristocratic

that when the current depression, brought on by the war with Moscow would pass, these coins would be repurchased from their holders, payable at a rate of 60 grašių for the taler.

From this it is evident that this was a special kind of "loan monay" which, when the emergency was over, must really be redeemed. But was it ever redeemed? That has not yet been determined. It would not be surprising if Sigismund Augustus forgot his pledged word. In that state with one head but with two bodies, as was Poland and Lithuania, there was never a well-organized operating order. And for that reason, finally, it collapsed.

FIGURE 91. The Countersigned Die upon the Coins Received from Spain.

Counterstamped talers weigh on an average about 29.5 gr., the silver in one--- 25.790 gr. This would approximate not 60 but only 33.5 Polish groshes. Therefore, the Treasury by this financial operation realized a sizeable profit, not from anyone else, but at the cost of the inhabitants of the country.



family. He was also the leader of those Polish Nationalists who strove to reestablish a Polish-dominated federation of Poland, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania. While he did not completely achieve his goal, he did manage to annex sizable portions of those countries with their non-Polish inhabitants to Poland. From independent Lithuania he tore off its capital Vilnius and the territory surrounding it, comprising nearly a third of ethnic Lithuania. During this period of Polish annexation (1920–39) a strict and deliberate Polonization policy was carried out in Vilnius: Lithuanian activists were persecuted and imprisoned, schools closed, associations dissolved and existing Lithuanian church services abolished. By severing all diplomatic ties and keeping a so-called line of demarcation instead of a regular border, Lithuania and Poland created a rare precedent in history, actively deliberated on but never resolved to both sides' satisfaction in the League of Nations. Thereby the separation of Lithuania from Poland reached its highest and most bitter degree.

Meanwhile, in independent Lithuania a new generation grew up without having learned Polish or having been reared in Polish culture. After Lithuania regained Vilnius and part of the surrounding territory in 1939, a number of Poles returned to Poland, and a natural de-Polonization process began. But the rest of the Vilnius territory, including its southwestern edge with the almost completely Lithuanian-inhabited townships of Suvalkai, Seinai and Punskas, remained under Poland's rule. These consequences of long-lasting Polonization still hinder a harmonious relationship between the two nations.

When people are compelled to resist money, there can be no though of accummulating it. So, the counterstamped talers did not support the Polish-Lithuanian economy, which was so much in need of such support.

In some museum collections and in the possession of individual numismatic hobbyists, there are foundoccasionally suspected counterstamped coins of Sigismund Augustus, of foreign but non-Hispanic origin. Such "ancients" are amony 19th century falsifications. The coins themselves could be genuine, with only the counterstamp counterfeited. However, an experienced numismatist will recognize the false counterstamp without too much trouble. As regards genuine Spanish coins of the time of genuine counterstamping, the diestrikes used on them are not always uniform, at times even suspect, but there is nothing we can say concretely about them. Absolute uniformity was not obtainable at that time, as we can observe in those same Vilnius coins, struck at the same mint, where in 1564 the talers were counterstamped.

The most important types in the counterstamps on the coins received from Spain and legally processed at Vilnius, which students hold to be undoubtedly genuine, are as follows:

Phillip II taler		with the inscription	on Rev:		HILARI/TAS/UNIVER/SA
Phillip II taler		with inscription	on Reverse:		HILA/RITAS/UNIVER
"	" 1/2 taler	"	"	"	: SICIL ET HIERUSAL
"	" 1/4 "	"	"	"	: DOMINUS MIH ADIUTOR
Karolio V	1/2 taler	"	"	"	: POPULOR•SECURITATI
"	" "	"	"	"	: •R•ARAGO•UTRIUS SI•
"	" "	"	"	"	: R•ARAGO•UTRIUS•S

The counterstamping diestrikes were placed variously with respect to the location and direction--no attampt was made at uniformity. And they were struck with blows of different force. On one , the coin is bent by the diestrike more, in another, less. We also find some very well-positioned. In one way or another, all legally counterstamped coins were good in those days, and no one could pick and choose.

* * *

GOLD COINS

Sigismundus Augustus crowned his long and varied series of silver coins with beautiful golden coins, the like of which had never been seen in Lithuania. Since we find nothing in the available records of silver coins at the Vilnius mint relating to gold, the conclusion offers itself that in the capital of the Grand Duchy there was another workshop specifically designed to strike gold coins. It is entirely possible that some of the more capable specialists of the silver mint performed some functions in the gold mint also.

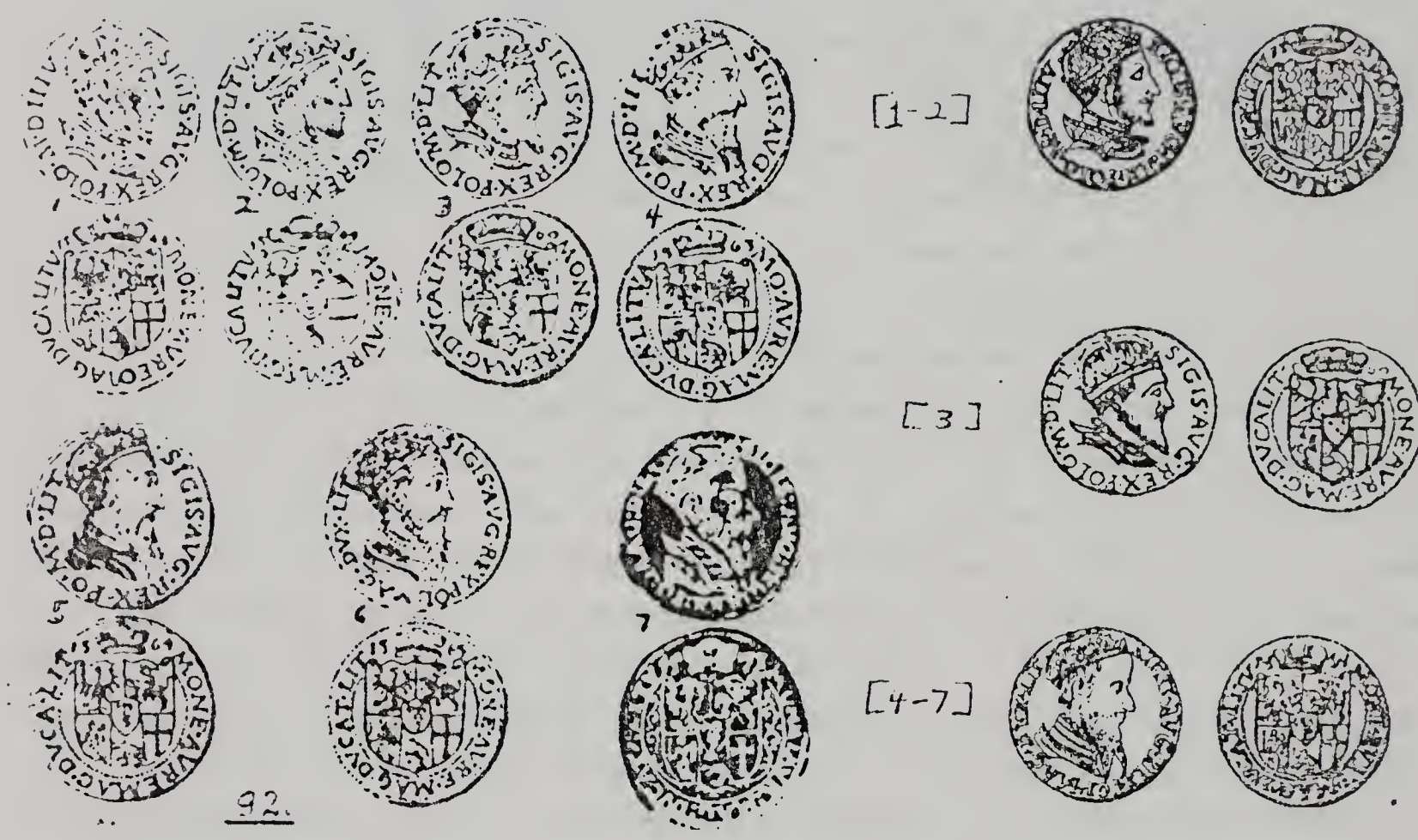


FIGURE 92. The DUCATS OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS

The famous Lithuanian ducats and the larger 10 ducat piece of Sigismund Augustus struck in Vilnius are known by the name of "Lithuanian Portugaler." The first

ducats appeared in 1547, that is, even before the death of S.A.'s father. Their striking continued until 1571, though comparatively not many were struck. Today, they are known by specimens of one or more each year or type. Somewhat more were issued by the mint in the years 1563 and 1564, which can be traced by the several die changes. For some years (for example, 1551-1552, 1555, 1557-59, 1562, 1568, 1570,) we are still unable to find any. It is hard to believe that, once having started, he would not have ardently desired to exhibit his little gold pieces each year.

Seldom, but in some of the better known collections there were found ducats of twice the weight and three times, struck with those same single ducat dies (1563 issue, a triple-weight Sigismund Augustus ducat can be viewed in the Vienna Numismatic Repository.). The phenomenon of these coins in history is a strange one. Since the denomination of the small Lithuanian ducats is not marked, it seems that in circulation, they were valued according to their weight. One ducat weighed 3.5 gr., the double and triple ducats must have weighed the same basic weight, doubled and tripled. The gold content of the ducats was 23.5 carats.

On the obverse of the ducat, we see the bust of Sigismund Augustus. From the first to the last ducat, the ruler's profile changes from a healthy youngster to that of an ill old man. The inscription---as on all his coins. On the reverse field is centered those same crests which we described when dealing with the halftalers and talers (puskapis). On some of the ducats the bear is pictured somewhat differently than on the same silver pieces. However in any case, it represents Kiev since it was for that reason it was placed among the other crests (the claimant of the other "bear crest" [Dr. Račkus] within the Grand Duchy, namely, Samogitia, is quite adequately represented by the highest crest of Lithuania--the Knight.). Above the crests, on both sides of the Grand duke's crown, we find the date of striking. Around the edges in Latin is inscribed, "a golden coin of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania." The words are abbreviated as they fit, and are not uniform on all ducats. On some of the coins the general shield bearing the crests is further ornamented along the sides by curled segments. (Ex. 7).

Lithuanian ducats were welcomed in Poland and elsewhere, as were similar coins from other European countries. The Poles called our ducats, in addition to the real name, also "czerwiencais." At times there were called, according to their derivative from past years, "czerwone zlote;" or internationally as "florens" and "aurei," from the Latin "aureus." To the Lithuanian common folk, who handled gold coins the least, ducats were "red money," or shorter, "reds." However, in general, their most popular name was ducats.

There is known to numismatists the large Sigismund Augustus gold coin of 1562, weighing 35 grams. Through its inscription, we find that it is "ten florens," which means the same as 10 ducats. In circulation it was termed the "Lithuanian Portugaler," It seems that here the first gold 10 ducat coins of King Joao III of Portugal had their influence. At this time, wehave no certain knowledge that S. Augustus struck such coins in other years.

FIGURE 93. The "Lithuanian Portugaler" (the 10 Floren or Ducat coin of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy).

Regarding florens and ducats. The floren (without touching upon other gold coins) first appeared in the 13th century (1252) in Florence. Upon it, among other features, there was engraved a lily, from which Italians began to call it a "golden flower" (fiorino d'oro). In other countries it became a "florin," or "floren." That coin of Florence weighed about 3.5 gr. and was struck of 23.5 carats of gold. As a rarity and good money, it soon became popular beyond the boundaries of Florence.

Following the example of Florence, in 1284 the city of Venice began to coin gold pieces of the same real value. Projecting their own image, the Venetians placed a long religiously oriented inscription on their little gold piece: "SIT TIBI CHRISTE DATUS QUEM TU REGIS ISTE DUCATUS."* The final word , "ducatus," settled for ages the nomenclature of gold coins of this as well as all other florens struck following this example (of the same weight and gold content.). Of course, Venice's piece was also called the "zecchini." It

*Roughly, "May this dukedom also be placed under you, Christ, which you rule."

s also known in German as "gulden" (from Gold. In the middle ages, "Guld"). However, ducat has everywhere broken through to first place. As we see, Sigismund Augustus reminded himself of the florin in his "portugaler."

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In the very beginning, Sigismund Augustus' gold ducat equalled 40 Lithuanian grašių and 50 Polish groshes. but these relationships soon began to change. The ducat appreciated. By 1550, the government had to take steps to hold the line at that rate. Regretfully, compulsion seldom helps in the financial field. By 1553, the ducat appreciated by 3 grašiai. For the following year, it seemed that the new exchange rate would remain steady, but after a few years, payment of 54 grašių was made for the ducat. After the death of Sigismund Augustus , a chronic debasement of silver coins began. The ducat jumped up to 4 Polish "zloty." From the time of Stephan Batory, not only Sigismund Augustus' but other Lithuanian ruler's ducats continued to rise in value. For example, in 1627, the exchange rate was 5 "zloty" and 10 groshes for the ducat. In 1664--up to 195 groshes. One could have purchased a ducat in the middle of the18th century for not less than 18 Polish "zloty" in copper coins. The purely Lithuanian "portugaler" of Sigismund August (without foreign crests) became more expensive not only because it was a 10 ducat coin, but rather as an unusual rarity of that era's numismatics. It is not surprising therefore, that forgers supplied these coins also, but it is not too difficult to recognize such falsifications.

The rate of exchange for gold ducats in silver coins varied for two reasons: the silver coins "thinned," and silver gradually cheapened. During the reign of Sigismund Augustus alone, the relative worth of gold to silver rose from 1:11 to 1:14.5. Why discuss even later years, when the production of silver grew considerably in Europe itself, not to speak of its flow from other continents in almost continual growing volume. While at the same time, there was never enough of gold. The rare discovery of Lithuanian ducats tells us, as it were, that many of those ewquisite coins disappeared because of the love of gold, particularly in western Europe. It was eagerly sought after by all, but the French and British paid more for gold coins, where they could be found, than almost anybody else.

5. THE MONIES OF THE GRAND DUCHY AFTER THE LUBLIN UNION

In the summer of 1569 it happened, what had to happen: at the Congress of Lublin, Lithuania was joined with Poland into one state, called "Rzeczpospolita Polska" (Žečpospolita), governed by one ruler elected by ranking classes of both countries, with one congress and senate, a common foreign policy, and of course, a unified monetary system. Thus, a mortal blow was struck to Lithuania's autonomy and freedom.

What irony! Its illustrious leaders Mindaugas, Gediminas, Algirdas, Kęstutis, and Vytautas raised Lithuania to the heights of power and glory, and here, the last descendant of Gediminas on the throne at Vilnius, Sigismundus Augustus, guided her to the pit, and pushed her into it with his own hands!

We concede that after the deaths of Vytautas and Jogailą, both the states governed by them became appreciably weaker up to the Union of Lublin. We likewise understand that the promised support of one to the other, now more than at any other time, could have been most useful. However, S. Augustus, being more of a Lithuanian than a Pole, could have exhibited sincere objectivity to his forefathers' homeland, joined to Poland with the cry and principle of "equal with an equal." Regretfully, equality had been forgotten. Poland meant more to the descendant of Gediminas, as we can see in the very act of union, in which preparatory work he actively and unhesitatingly participated. The Act of Lublin testifies and will testify that Lithuania was not joined with Poland, but the former was, speaking frankly, subjected to the latter. If there is anyone to whom that is not clear from the Act itself, it will be easy to convince him of that jointure by the further flow of its political life.

As relates to money, S. Augustus knew long before Lublin what that act of association would embody: how Lithuania's autonomy, and equally its money would have to enter the furrow which the Poles had plowed and whose entire plan was purely Polish. Knowing this in advance, he stopped the striking of Lithuanian coins under different pretexts, until the congress of Lublin would indicate the form of the new coins. Only the

[Presented at the bottom of the next few pages is the history of the Lublin Union, photocopied from the Encyclopedia Lituanica.]

LUBLIN, Union of, concluded between Lithuania and Poland on July 1, 1569, forming a confederation of states operative until the partition of 1795. The beginnings of this reciprocal agreement are found in the 1386 Kriavas (Krėva) Act by which Grand Prince Jogaila of Lithuania promised on receiving the Polish crown to annex Lithuania to Poland. Though this personal union brought the two countries closer together, Lithuania remained an independent nation, governed by a sovereign ruler or a separate member of the royal family of Poland. Lithuanians constantly opposed the Polish plan for either incorporating Lithuania or forming a union of the two nations with a mutually elected ruler and a common legislature. This issue became more pressing as the expansion of Muscovite Russia threatened in the east, and the joint ruler King Sigismund Augustus (1548 1572), the last member of the Gediminian-Jagellonian dynasty, offered no heir to the throne.

The question of union was raised by the Lithuanian nobility, who wanted the assurance of Polish aid in the war with Moscow and addressed King Sigismund with a petition at the army encampment by Vitebsk (1562). The following year the nation was even further alarmed when the Muscovites captured Polotsk, reaching the ethnographic territories of Lithuania. Sigismund Augustus finally invited a Lithuanian delegation to the Polish diet, which arrived in Warsaw with 28 representatives headed by the chancellor of Lithuania, Nicholas Radvilas (Radziwill) the Black. The Poles demanded that in exchange for aid, all previous acts allegedly annexing Lithuania to Poland now be put into effect. The Lithuanians refused, presenting the alternative proposal that the two nations have a single ruler and a common foreign policy, but retain separate jurisdiction in all other areas. Their defense of independence was strengthened upon hearing of the Muscovite defeat at Ula and Orsha (1564). Heated negotiations continued from Nov. 21, 1563 to Feb. 22, 1564, when the primary issues were postponed for a special legislature.

The legislative session for the proposed union convened in Lublin in southeastern Poland at the end of 1568. The Lithuanian delegation headed by the chancellor Nicholas Radvilas the Red (Radvilas the Black died in 1565), included the vice-chancellor Eustace Wołłowicz (Valavičius), the Samogitian elder John Chodkiewicz (Katkevičius), the Lithuanian Council of Lords, and representatives from the noble-elected dietines. The Lithuanian proposal read: the ruler of the two nations would be jointly elected, but separately confirmed grand prince of Lithuania in Vilnius; the two countries would have a common army and a common legislature, to be used only in cases involving both nations, while separate diets and armies would handle domestic affairs; monetary union would include common coinage,

little-reckoned Vilnius 2 grašiai and the universally accepted gold ducat survived the date of union.

Three years passed after the burial of Lithuania, when the master gravedigger, S. Augustus, also went to his grave, never regretted by a true Lithuanian, never recalled by a heartfelt word, having left in the hearts of Lithuanians loyal to their fatherland such bitterness which all future centuries will not wipe away. According to the 3rd paragraph of the Lublin act, there had to be elected a new ruler of Poland/Lithuania, more accurately, a Polish King, since the election of the Lithuanian Grand Duke had been abrogated, "so that in the future there would be no sign or semblance which would show or indicate his elevation or inauguration..." Paragraph 4. The elected King automatically becomes the Lithuanian Grand Duke. The ranking classes of both nations, grouped as in battle at Warsaw (elections were only scheduled in Poland), selected as their ruler a complete stranger, the French prince Henry of Valois (Valiua). The happy winner had to promise, in writing, to guard the unbridled rights of the aristocracy and boyars (not of all the people, but just the putrefying upper crust) and to do nothing in the state without their consent![26]

After remaining a few months in Poland with nothing useful accomplished, Valois fled to France (whose throne he inherited) and never returned. In December 1575, the succeeding ruler was enthusiastically elected, another stranger, but a good soldier and administrator, the Duke Steponas Batoras (Stephen Bathory) of Transylvania (eastern Hungary). He was a man of good will who proposed to become not a paper king; but the almight aristocracy tied his wings. Soon he showed equal respect for both unified countries. However, the Lithuanian boyars, who enmasse adopted the Polish ethic during the reign of S. Augustus, and the partly Lithuanian wife of Batoras (sister of S. Augustus) made no effort, as Poles, to foster his feelings toward Lithuania, as much as to the country of his residence--Poland. And that sort of thing, in those days, meant a lot.

The Vilnius money mint had been closed down even before S. Augustus' death; so was the Cracow mint in Poland, awaiting new reforms. It was necessary to prepare new money, according to the requirements of the Lublin Act, but the deceased architect of the union had been in no hurry. While Batoras was finding his place on the throne, and until he had arranged the military affairs of the state, so close to his heart, several years passed.

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[28] All later elected rulers of the "Republic" were required to sign such an "agreement" with the boyars. How this constant growth of the rights of the upper classes in Poland/Lithuania ended---everyone knows.

but separate treasuries and independent control of finances; the border between the two countries would be clearly delineated. The arguments that ensued reached a highly emotional level. The Poles decidedly rejected these proposals, accusing the Lithuanian representatives of disregarding all previous treaties. Padniewski, bishop of Cracow, declared that King Jogaila had presented Lithuania to the Polish crown, and if the country was ever ruled independently, then it was only through the grace of Poland. The treasurer Dembiński suggested announcing the incorporation of Lithuania into the Polish state, abolishing the name *Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae*, and calling the territory New Poland *(Nowa Polska)*. The Lithuanian chancellor retorted: "No one could give us, because we are a free people... If anyone should ever attempt to enslave us, he would be considered a tyrant, not our ruler."

The Poles maintained the position that all prior acts of union were valid but inoperative. Since the king had the right to establish rulings in favor of the formation of the union without taking into consideration Lithuanian protests, and because the diets of the two nations had been in separate session since December, 1568, with no conclusive decision being reached, the Polish delegation demanded that they meet in a joint session of the legislature with the king finalizing the negotiations by royal decree. Expecting an unfavorable decision from the king, the Lithuanian representatives decided to disperse. The designated day of the meeting (March 1, 1569) saw only three Lithuanian delegates who, after announcing that their country would negotiate no further, departed leaving two observers behind. The Lithuanians defended their actions with a guarantee from the king that nothing would be done to compel them to accept any

Complaints and reproaches were heard in the Senate, that foreign monies of all kind, were flooding the country, while our own money, unreplenished, was quickly disappearing. That particularly concerned the Grand Duchy's coins, which were superior to the Poles'. The Lithuanian coins were vanishing from circulation in masses, either clutched tightly in anticipation of a murky future, or were squandered for desirable imports, and were not returning from abroad. It was the king's duty to attend to these matters, also.

The issuance of new coins had to be organized according to the Union's Act, Paragraph II, which stated: "Funds of Poland and Lithuania must be struck in general agreement, unified and of like weight, size and silver content, and inscription on the coins." And to insure its execution, it was entrusted "to his Royal Highness." But such reforms are not quickly accomplished. The preparatory steps, it seems, lasted a year or two, since only in 1579 did Batoras permit the reopening of Okulše (in Poland) and Vilnius (Lithuania) to begin operating one coin mint each.

The Lithuanian mint did not accomplish much in the first year. From recoveries, it appears that it prepared a trial shilling of Stephen Batoras and a 2 denar piece. We do not know of any other coins struck in 1579. The task progressed somewhat in 1580, when all new coin strikings of both countries were in readiness, as noted in a schedule issued by the King on January 5. Its basic statutes are as follows: 1) The coin mints of both Poland and Lithuania are directly under theauthority of the countries' Treasurer; 2) To assist the Treasurers, governors of the countries were installed as co-administrators and controllers of a kind; 3) Specific coins which may be issued are clearly indicated (denars, 3-denars, shillings, half-grašiai, grašis, 3-grašių, 6-grašių, half-talers and talers. Several of these did not appear in Lithuania, even later); 4) It was commanded to place the crests of both states upon the coins. In addition, the Treasurers and the governors were installed as ranking officials of the mints, and at the same time manufacturers and financiers of a kind. Whatever way the plant would operate, they must present to the ruler's money chest 10 grašių of net profit from each bar of silver (about 200 grams) struck into coins; purchase the silver, pay all maintenance costs of the Mint, and be responsible from their own funds for all possible losses.

Such a procedure would insure a fairly healthy monetary system from all aspects. The honor and fortune of the two countries' nobles insured the mint against fraud and losses. Regretfully, the fractious nobles did not observe their duties as much as they valued their rights. To avoid worrying and brainwracking, they leased the mint from themselves to clev-

erer individuals,

conditions of the treaty, and that they were free to leave at their own discretion.

Poland did not want this demonstrative Lithuanian departure to further delay the realization of the union. They proceeded with a unilateral decision sanctioned by Sigismund Augustus to annex Lithuanian-ruled territories. The Lithuanian nation lost the palatinates of Podlachia, Volynia, Podolian Bratslav, and Kiev, or one-third of its territories (4 out of 13 palatinates) including the entire Ukraine. These southern Lithuanian territories had been a cause of tension between the two nations since the 14th century and one of the primary reasons for Polish interest in a union with continuous eastern expansion. The Lithuanian Council of Lords ordered preparation for war, but the Lithuanian nobles were reluctant to fight over lands with a substantial Polish following. Since Lithuania was still threatened by Muscovite Russia, there was no other alternative but to continue negotiations in Lublin.

The diet reconvened in separate sessions on June 6, 1569, with the Lithuanian delegation headed by the Samogitian elder and administrator of Livonia, John Chodkiewicz, and the vice-chancellor Eustace Wołłowicz. The Lithuanians were able to moderate the final proposals, but on the whole had to accept Polish dictates. On June 28th John Chodkiewicz regretfully acknowledged the Lithuanian position and entreated Sigismund Augustus not to forget his homeland. The final act was drawn up by the Lithuanian and Polish nobility, and exchanged, along with vows of unity, on July 1, 1569. King Sigismund Augustus endorsed the Union of Lublin on July 4th and 11th; his statement of July 29th, though, was significant in the future interpretation of the act.

The Union of Lublin declared that "the Polish Kingdom and the Lithuanian Grand Principality are one, in-

who profited considerably by withholding silver from the coins, while the resulting losses, probably even exaggerated, were paid for by the accountable simpletons.

The new Vilnius coins differed in many ways from the earlier ones. Their real value, compared to Polish coins, fell officially about 20%. Later they were debased even further because of constant mis-management. The popular denar fell to nearly a half-dener, and not just 10 of them, but 18, as in Poland, actually constituted the reformed grašis. Another entirely new coin appeared, the "solidus" or shilling (1/3 of a grašis). An entire series of coins in the old denominations, as we shall see, did not appear at all in the Batoras era. True, the old legend, stating that these coins are of the "Magni Ducatus Lithaniae" still appeared upon the Lithuanian coins, but the crests of both countries were arranged so that the heraldic first place was dominated by the Polish eagle. The Columns of Gediminas, gracing both Sigismund's Lithuanian coins, are no longer in evidence.

* * *

After the Lublin Union, coins of the Grand Duchy were struck by Stephan Batoras, Sigismund Vasa (of Sweden), John Casimir, and Augustas the Saxon. By glancing at the panel (page 362) we may see how the types of these coins became rarer, how many new "Lithuanian" coins appeared, how all were further debased, and finally, controlled by foreigners from Cracow, flowed into the Polish monetary stream, and sunk down in that quagmire for good. While in Lithuania, which territorially was much larger than Poland, one plant to prepare coins sufficed. In the post-Lublin era, Polish coins were struck intensively in several mints (Poznan, Danzig, Warsaw, Ujazdov, and elsewhere). Somewhat along these same proportions was the "equality", promised by the Lublin Union, actually expressed in all other fields of the two joint nations' "brotherly coexistence..."

All coins struck from Batoras to Saxon, we combine in the so-called "post-Lublin" group, of our country's money. They impressed and left a mournful wound in the financial history of the Grand Duchy. The further the age progressed, the more the coins were debased and cheapened, and the metal used in their striking most often could scarcely be called silver. In effect, it became cheap billon . Some of the "silver" coins descended even to the black billon (75% and more of ligature or bond; see the panel on page 362).

separable, and homogeneous body, with one uniform and common Republic, united and joined from two States and Peoples into one Nation." The united countries would have a single ruler elected by the delegates of the two nations in Poland and crowned in Cracow; there would be no separate elections or inauguration in Vilnius; Lithuania would maintain the title *Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae* and her separate administrative offices; a common diet and senate would convene in Poland; the signing of new treaties and delegations to foreign countries would be made by mutual agreement; all previous treaties detrimental to either party would be null and void; Lithuanian and Polish monetary union would include standardization in common name and value of coinage; laws forbidding Polish acquisition of Lithuanian estates would be abolished; the nobility of both nations should unite in support of the crown and protect all established royal rights and privileges.

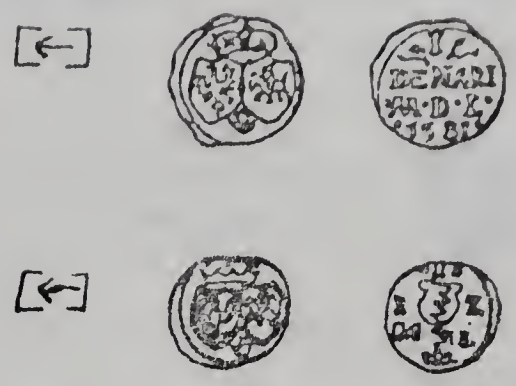
After the initial acceptance of the act, the diet now continued in a joint session of Lithuania and Poland until Aug. 12, 1569, negotiating the particulars of the union. Warsaw was selected as the meeting place of the common diets. The army of the confederation was to be assembled from mercenaries, as Lithuanians would not allow the soldiers of Polish lords to march through their territory. Livonia, previously a Lithuanian protectorate administered by John Chodkiewicz, now came under the auspices of both nations; Lithuanians felt that they had lost another province.

The Lithuanian chancellor Radvilas the Red had not returned for the second round of negotiations and upon learning of the main decisions of the Lublin diet, he called the union "the burial and abolishment of the free and independent nation — *Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae.*" This view resulted not from the stipulations of the confederation itself, but from the direct incorporation of a third of the Lithuanian provinces into the kingdom of Poland, a power play forcing Lithuanian representatives to agree to a single ruler, a common legislative body, and a united foreign policy. The stipulations did not make Lithuania and Poland "one, united, and indivisible body" *(unum et indivisum corpus)*, though these phrases were constantly repeated in the articles of the union and the later decisions of the diet; the announced formation of a common republic remained so in name only.

Lithuania continued being an independently ruled nation in union with Poland, having a separate administration of chancellors, marshals, hetmen, and treasurers, and governed under the Lithuanian Statute (q.v.). The nation maintained a separate court sys-

A. Stephen Batoras' Coins

Figure 94.
"Denars"



These tiny coins each weighed about 0.365 gr., their silver content barely 0.100. Thus, only in name could they be called denars, but according to their physical data they compared favorably to the half-denars (obols) of S. Augustus. We do not know how many were struck at Vilnius. They are now accounted a great rarity. Struck only in 1581 and 1582, as is believed, any showing up dated 1583 are considered to be counterfeit. Some believe that they are all counterfeit, but that is not proven. The denar coins were necessary for Lithuania's economy even in Batoras' era. Such a coin was provided for in the royal schedule, so it could have been issued. Discrepancies of one kind or another in the appearance of these coins can be attributed to technical deficiencies of the era, and the malleable license of officials. Finally, relating to the queer character on the obverse side of the 1582 denar (Figure 94/2), it is not too much to presume that it pictures the Sforza emblem, since Batoras' wife Anna was the daughter of Bona Sforza. The king himself or some close sycophants of his manor, could have honored the queen in this manner, as S. Augustus in his coins paid tributed to his mother Bona. On the larger coins of Batoras his emblem appears.

* * * * *

Two-Denars

The Lithuanian 2-denars of Batoras' era are registered by Hutten-Czapski for the 1578 and 1579 issues (Catal. V, LXXXV). They are also mentioned in his book by Gartman. I was able to view one of the 1578 dated 2-denars in the coin collection of the American Numismatic Society in New York. It very closely

tem, treasury, army, national coat of arms, and a national seal to validate every law of the country. The Lithuanian territory, though greatly diminished in size, was separated from Poland by a clear line of demarcation. Lithuanians considered the joint ruler their grand prince and for a time held separate elections. The legislature never achieved unity and usually convened separately under the clause allowing each nation to prepare its own laws. The stipulation preventing the passing of any law concerning Lithuanian affairs without the approval of the Lithuanian delegation proved useful in protecting Lithuanian interests in a joint session where Lithuanian delegates constituted only one-third of the members of the legislature. The Act of Lublin was amended in 1673 to allow every third diet to convene in Gardinas, Lithuania, instead of exclusively in Warsaw. Monetary unity was never realized, and Lithuanian money remained more valuable until the end of the confede-

ration. The laws preventing Polish ownership of Lithuanian estates continued in force and were not amended in the new edition of the Lithuanian Statute (1588); later, estates could be acquired in Lithuania only through marriage. No Pole could gain an administrative position in Lithuania without amending the Code of Laws. All governing officials were appointed by the king from persons recommended by the Lithuanian Council of Lords, whose rights and jurisdiction remained unaltered under the union. All foreign affairs were conducted in the king's name but each nation had a foreign minister for diplomatic negotiations with their respective neighbors. Delegations abroad were comprised of both Lithuanians and Poles.

The Act of Lublin, which sought to form one indivisible nation, did not succeed in fully realizing its goal, primarily because of Lithuanian efforts to protect the autonomy of their country and maintain their concept of

self-government. But Lithuania was greatly weakened by the union, while Poland gained a more notable position in Eastern European politics. In time the name *Rzeczpospolita Polska* completely overshadowed Lithuania, pri-

marily because of cultural and social factors present in the country even before the formalization of the union. Lithuanian administrative and judicial systems were patterned after the Polish method: 1566 marked the establishment of districts, dietines, courts of the nobility, and the election of delegates to the Lithuanian legislature by the nobles. As the Polish system became incorporated into the nation bringing the two countries into closer contact, only the wish of the Lithuanian nobility to maintain an independently governed land forced them to fight against a total union of the two nations in Lublin and the other diets. This general trend continued with the gradual polonization of the Lithuanian nobility as they joined the Polish gentry in their mutual struggle for

resembles S. Augustus "dvylekis," but the monogram is different. It weighs 0.53 gr. The silver content is not given.

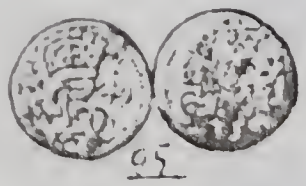


Figure 95.
The 2-denar of
S. Batoras.

Despite the fact that this coin is Lithuanian in appearance, we cannot accept it as a circulating coin of the Grand Duchy. After the death of S. August, the Vilnius silver coin mint was officially inoperative until 1580, according to Gumowski, and issued no coins during that interval. There could have been trials made there of one kind or another. There could equally have been prepared a project (or projects) of 2-denar coins, and a certain number of these trial pieces could have been struck, but the information at hand does not show any legal issue. As we shall see, in 1579, dies were prepared for shillings in Vilnius--the dies remained but the shilling itself was not issued.

The basic reason for such coquetry was the Lublin Act, section 11, and the delay in implementing regulation on the monetary affairs schedule from Cracow, with its interpretation and adjustment to practicality. That schedule was long in preparation, and it appeared only on January 5, 1580. Among other things, in it was the specific requirement that the joint states' emblems would appear on the Grand Duchy's coins (and they are to be found on all coins issued by the Vilnius Mint in the reign of Batoras). Among the Grand Duchy's coins provided for, there is no 2-denar piece. That is to say, the said denar did not meet the official requirements either in the emblems or denomination. Also, the Batoras monogram is completely different from that officially used elsewhere. On the 2-denar the two letters "SR" are interlaced (which would mean Stephanus Rex--King Stephen). Whereas on legal coins, it was simply "S" (Stephanus).

It is understandable that in the confusion of the times, anything could happen; Perhaps our findings (and others of this same coin) slipped out of the mint through its workers' or servants' pockets. Perhaps some of them were even put into circulation in Vilnius. However, such tactics with illegal coins, clearly, do not transform them to a legal status.

the privileges of the ruling class. In time the remaining differences between the two national social systems disappeared, and the ultimate goal of the Union of Lublin was achieved; the two countries formed one nation at the Warsaw Diet on May 3, 1791. Under the new constitution, Lithuania relinquished all self-governing rights with the formation of a single administration for the Polish and Lithuanian territory remaining after the 1772 partition of the republic. This constitution never became effective, as the nations were further divided in 1793. The third and last partition (1795) ended the days of the Polish-Lithuanian confederation.

Bibl.: M. O. Kolalovich, *Drevnik Lublinskogo seima 1569 goda*, St. Petersburg, 1869; S. Kutrzeba and W. Semkowicz, *Akta unii Polski z Litwą 1385–1795*, Kraków, 1932; O. Halecki, *Dzieje unii Jagiellońskiej* II, Kraków, 1920; A. Šapoka, *Lietuva ir Lenkija po 1569 metų Liublino unijos*, Kaunas, 1938; J. Bardach, "Krew i Lublin," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, Vol. 76, 1969 (Warszawa); B. Dundulis, *Lietuvos užsienio politika XVI amžiuje*, Vilnius, 1971. *S. Suž.*

Some persons attempted to attribute these 2-denars to the Courland Dukedom's coins, which submitted to the Lithuanian/Polish Kingdom in the 16th century. It was believed that the tiny mark below the monogram was the emblem of that Dukedom's Herzog Kettler,[27] (though it appears more like the letter "V", which on Lithuanian coins would designate the locale of the Vilnius coin mint--Vilnius). But for such views we find no basis.

* * *

Shillings

An entirely new coin within the money system of Lithuania was the Shilling (in Latin, SOLIDUS). Derived from the Batoras schedule mentioned previously, the shilling must weigh about 1.120 gr., and within that weight, about 0.200 gr. pure silver. Therefore, it was worth about 1/2 of the new grašis. The shillings were being prepared in the Vilnius Mint in 1579, but none were issued that year. There has survived only one trial piece: dies were struck into a thick planchet of silver (piefort). Shillings struck in the following year and later were substantially changed. Apparently, something in the 1579 trial piece failed to satisfy Batoras.

Figure 96. The first Grand Duchy shillings: 1) Trial piece; 2 to 4) circulation pieces.

During Batoras' reign, Lithuanian shillings are known for the years 1580 to 1585. On the obverse, a large "S" appears, the initial of the ruler's name.

[27] See Gumowski "Mennica Wilenska," page 94.

The inside is ornamented by the Batoras insignia. The outer circle contains the royal crown, and the inscription in Latin, which recounts that Stephen Batoras "by the grace of God" is king of Poland. On the reverse are engraved the Polish and Lithuanian emblems, above them the Grand Duke's mitre. The inscription is similar to that used earlier: "SOLIDUS M.D. LIT," which is to say, a shilling of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Then follows the year of striking. The smaller signs (a 3-leaf, star and a young moon) relate to the mint and its officials.

An unusual feature on the shillings is the absence of the title of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. Anyone who believes that Batoras was equally loyal to Lithuania as he was to Poland has surely not seen his Lithuanian shillings. No one else excepting Batoras himself could have thrown out the said title from a die prepared to strike coins at the Vilnius mint. On his other coins, the title of Grand Duke again finds a place. It is possible that someone among the Lithuanian nobles not yet entirely Polonized may have made a verbal protest to the king, that he disregards the traditional order arbitrarily.

The word "shilling" became part of the Lithuanian coin lexicon from the German "Schilling," the most popular coin in Germanic countries during the 14th to 19th centuries. The word "solidus" repeated in the inscriptions would call to mind the shilling's predecessor from the days of Rome and Byzantium. One of our "enthusiast's" derivations, that the word "shilling" is derived from the Lithuania words "salinkis" (to join together) "sulinkes" (bent over), or "še linkį" (here's a ring), originating from "bracelet money from ancient ages"... is pure fantasy. [Karys is speaking here of the writings of Dr. Alexander M. Račkus].

Grašis

The new Lithuanian grašis in real value exceeded the value of the 3 shillings, so occasionally 4 shillings were demanded for them, especially when later shillings (the era of Vasa) became quite debased. The Lithuanian grašis of Batoras legally weighed about 1.860 gr., including 0.670 gr. of pure silver.

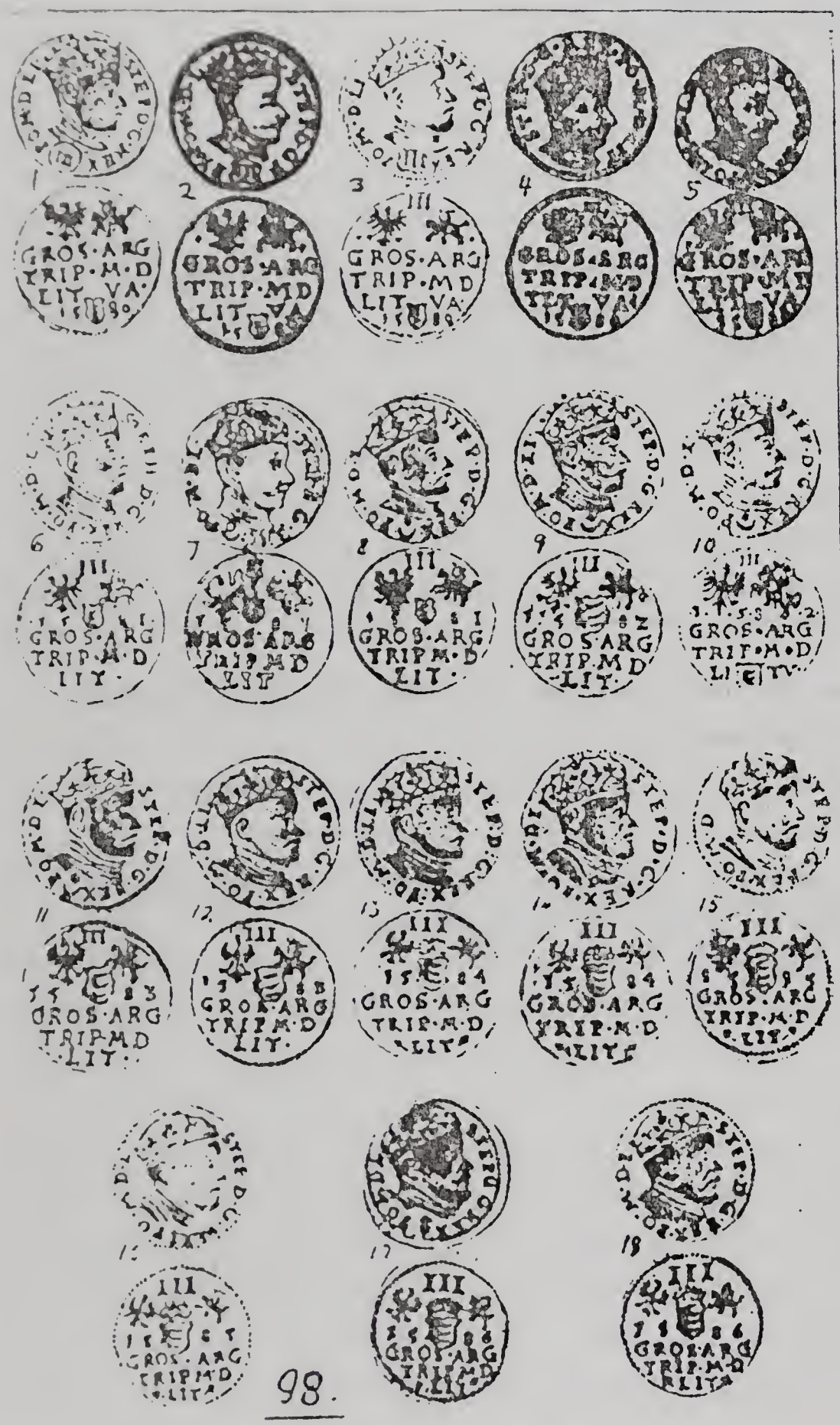
From recoveries, there are two types of grašis known: the earlier type differs in that both the Polish and Lithuanian emblems appear without shields and there is no 3-leaf, with which the later type is graced. The change occured in that same year, 1580. There were not many grašis struck, and their striking continued probably only two years: 1580 and 1581. We do not find any Lithuanian grašis in any other year of Batoras' reign. On the reverse side of the first issue (1580) of the grašis, below the date, a small letter "v" can be seen, which signified the location of the mint at Vilnius.

Figure 97. Batoras' Grašis, from Vilnius

3-Grašiai

The reason is quite unknown, but the 3-grašiai of Stephen Batoras issued in Lithuania, differed in pattern as well as in tremendous numbers from the basic coin---the grašis. These 3-grašiai were struck in Vilnius from 1580 to 1586 inclusively, that is, just about from the opening of the mint until Batoras' death. These coins were not bad and differed little from the metal in S. Augustus' 3-grašiai. They separately weighed about 2.37 gr. and in content there was about 2 gr. of pure silver. The official exchange of the 3-grašiai in shillings was set at 1:9, but judging from the content of the precious metal, it was worth not less than 10 shillings. For that reason, the 3-grašiai were readily accepted and performed well in transactions with foreign merchants. So also, with the earlier Lithuanian money disappearing from circulation, the somewhat better post-lublin coins facilitated the public's acceptance of the new pieces.

Based upon the changes and differences in the appearance, legends and signs, the older generation of numismatists attempted to group these 3-grašiai into several catagories. And really, in the supporting photographs, anyone can detect differences of one kind or other. For example, a) in the first three--the denomination (3-grašiai) is recorded by the Roman numberal "III" in a circle below Batoras' portrait, while his crest is placed between the halved date on the reverse; b) In the following two and in the 10th cut



98.

[ ]

[4]

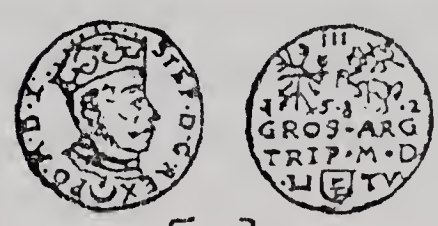
Ø – 21–22, srebro,

[3]

Ø – 22 srebro, 2,40 g

[1]

Ø – 21–22, srebro, 2,40 g



[10]

Ø – 21, srebro, 2,40 g

[AS 18]

Ø – 19–22, srebro, 2,40 g

Figure 98. The Post-Lublin Lithuanian 3-Grašiai

in which the digit signifying the denomination is transferred to the reverse side, with the ruler's crest on the same side; while in the 6-9 and 11-18 cuts they are squeezed in between the countries' crests; c) the 3-digit figure "III" is repeated on both sides of the coin in cut 3; from 4 to 18 cuts inclusive, it is placed only on the reverse; d) On some of the 3-grašiai pieces, the marks of the mint officials are absent. On examples 7-11, 16, 17 they are inscribed; e) On some examples the date is placed on the bottom of the reverse; on others---between the crest and the legend; f) the popular mintmark of the Vilnius Mint of those days---leaves (example 13-18, at the bottom of the reverse) could establish another type in this series of 3-grašiai, even without any mention of the die changes themselves.

However, we believe it is too early to group these die changes on numerous ancient coins into types, because it would not be accurate. We have examples of ALL COINS. When we do not know exactly how many, what kind and when they were struck, the near and distant future could bring surprises. We may be sure (and the deepest pessimists have no basis for failing to believe) that mother earth still hides many secrets within herself, and when occasion warrants, we do not doubt, will surrender at least a part of them....

* * *

6-Grašiai (Šeštokai)

One of the prettiest of the post-Lublin Grand Duchy coins was the 6-grašiai of Stephen Batoras. One 6-grašiai was worth two 3-grašiai, or six 1-grašis coins. According to the 1580 royal schedule, the 6-grašiai weighed about 4.750 gr., including here about 4 gr. of silver. If an examination should disclose a lower content, the fault would accrue to the mint's administration and other officials. Batoras did not change his schedule. There is likewise not the slightest rumor that he did not value his honor at all times.

The Batoras 6-grašiai are known only for the 1581 and 1585 issues. That skipped interval still awaits an explanation. Regretfully, without recovery of some coins, it is impossible to explain, yet to believe that during the interval no 6-grašiai were struck in Vilnius seems to be absurd. True, the 6-grašiai of 1581 are strikingly different from the 1585 recurring issue, but differences occur even in the coins of the same year (Example: Figure 98/1-5, or Figure 99/2-3).

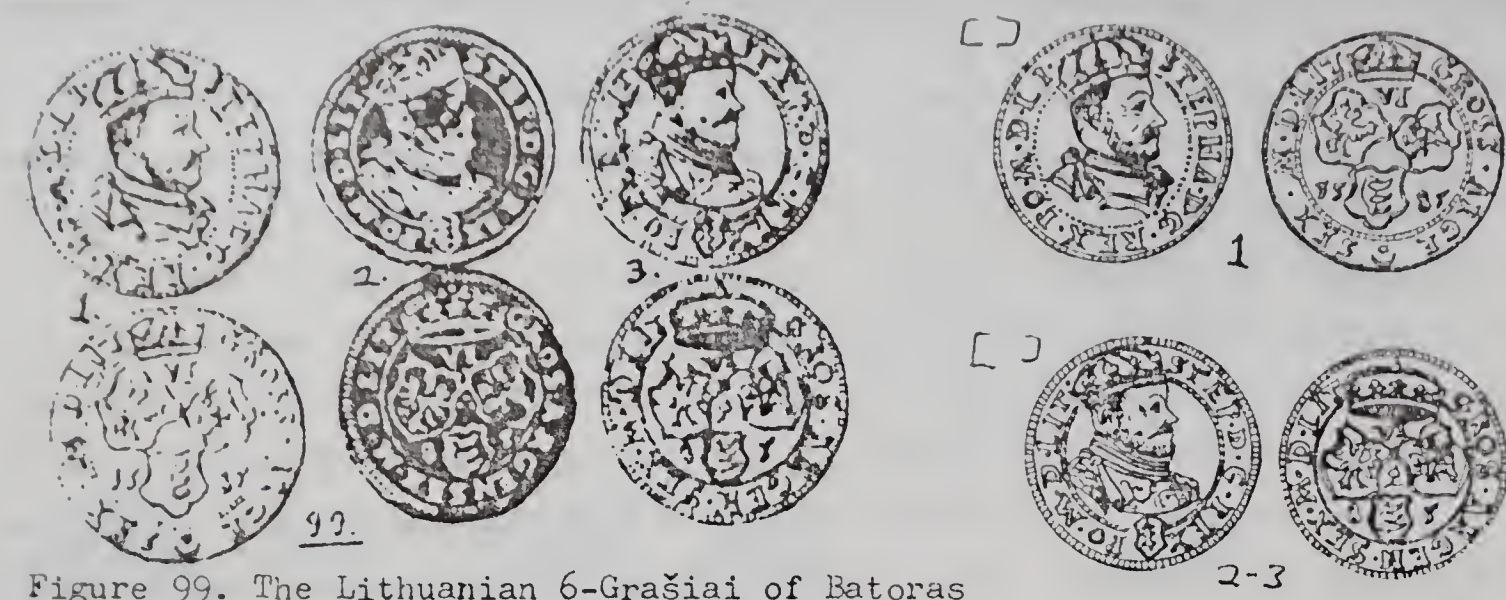


Figure 99. The Lithuanian 6-Grašiai of Batoras

The general appearance of the 6-grašiai is similar to the appearance of other coins, and they are already familiar to us. Only the shields of the crests are bordered differently, prettied up. The date of striking on the earlier pieces is kept together. On others the last two final digits (85) only appear. In addition, on these latter ones we find the Vilnius 3-leaf (2nd example, between the crests), or only one leaf (3, same). Other than the inscription, the denomination is noted and also the figure "VI." The star in a halfmoon (Example 1) and an arrow with two smaller arrows are the marks of the superintendent of the mint (Lithuania's treasurer).

Recovered 6-grašiai witness to several changes of dies, as much in 1581 as in the 1585 issues. From this it seems that there were issued a large number of these coins. Statistics, of course, are absent, or if they ever existed, they were lost in the confusion of those days.

* * *

Talers

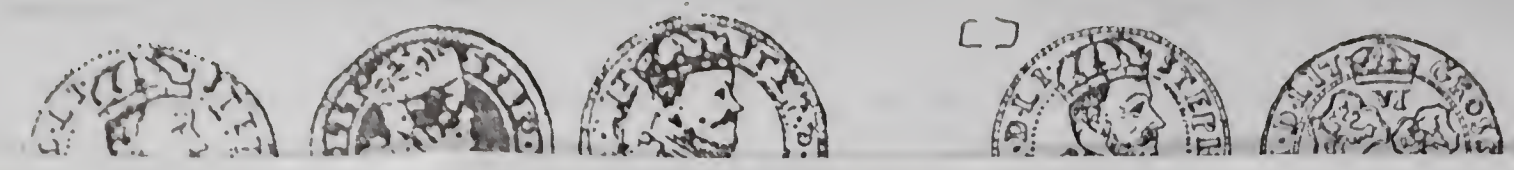
According to the regulations set in 1580, the silver talers of the Grand Duchy had to be struck at an average weight of 28.830 gr., of 0.845 silver content. Were they made that way---is another question, because lighter ones have been found. Since it was proposed to make them worth somewhat more than the half-kapos (puskapius) by S. Augustus, we may assume that Batoras wished to fashion his products closer to the well-known talers of foreign countries, to be welcomed for use in international trade as the most desirable of all silver coins. Their exchange rate officially was about 35 grašių, though according to regulations, there was at least a half-grašis of silver more in Batoras' "Lithuanian" talers. Such a

coin in those days could truly find success abroad as well as at home.

The Vilnius mint began to strike talers in 1580. In the process of their manufacture we note an entire series of errors which today it is impossible to explain. For example: one change in the taler of that year is known only in a specimen containing one and a half weight of silver; another, in a double weight specimen--and this on a gold planchet, among findings. Another change was illustrated by a coin of normal silver weight, and several 10 ducat gold-weight coins--many considered these coins Batoras' "Lithuanian Portugalers," though these "portulgalers" had no legal connection at all with true gold coins. So, of all these described recoveries, only one specimen represents the normal 1580 taler of Batoras (See Figure 100/2). It appears that, the Vilnius mint in those years was making some experiments with those large coins, or was planning some strange ends...

It is characteristic that during the time of these experiments, Batoras, or some one of his henchmen, clearly endeavored to drag Lithuanian coins in the direction of de-Lithuanizing. As an example, here are two types of 1580 talers:

Figure 100. Stephen Batoras' Ostensible "Grand Duchy talers"



As we can see, the reverse side of the coin has been changed considerably. From a double shield with crests in the field, it now becomes a 4-shield reverse. But that is not too important. Much more important are the inscriptions. The first of them (around Batoras' bust) on the obverse signifies that Batoras is King of Poland. There is no title of Grand Duke of Lithuania. Only on the reverse side of the coin is that title mentioned, together with other Dukedoms, much smaller than the impact of Lithuania upon the joint Polish-Lithuanian state. And there is not a word that these coins are thos of the "Magni Ducatus Lituaniae"! So, though according to certain other signs (3-leaf, on the second side below the crests, there is the mark of J. Glebavičius, Treasurer of Lithuania), the said coins were struck in Vilnius, they are more similar to "alliance" coins (as for instance, the well-known Bundesthaler) of countries joined in an alliance, than money issued by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The following taler is known for the year 1585. Itis somewhat closer to the coins of the Grand Duchy (See Fig. 101) because the inscription on the obverse side proclaims Batoras not only the King of Poland, but also the Grand Duke of Lithuania. The coin is struck in Vilnius and bears the crest of the noble Lithuanian family of Sapiega (on the reverse side at the bottom).

The cause of the gap in striking talers at the Vilnius mint is still unexplained. We can only say of the unknown four years, the same as we have said in discussing the Batoras 6-grašiai. Judging from the abundance of findings, there were many struck in Vilnius during 1585. Several wealthy collections in Poland and coin cabinets in Danzig, Berlin, Vienna, and Petrograd possessed certified original specimens. Among numismatist-enthusiasts and numismatist-dealers a number of 1585 talers were floating around (and probably are still available) from the smithy of the 19th century counterfeiter Mainert.

In his talers, Batoras produced another novelty: in the large shield, divided into 4 basic parts, he structured the Eagle and the Knight twice, reserving the center between them for his personal crest (which is here for the first time crowned with a mitre). Why was it necessary to double up the Polish and Lithuanian crests on the coin, no one can answer except those who perpetrated it. [Note: probably because it was customary elsewhere]. It would seem that purposely, the most important item---the expression of the coin's denomination, was omitted. And that makes Stephen Batoras' Vilnius talers even less like S. Augustus' half-kapos (puskapis), or indeed, like normal coins. Anyone not thoroughly versed in them would consider them

medallions or medals, rather than coins understandable to common sense. [Note: Others contend that this was the common practice in Europe: Denomination by weight.]

Figure 101. Stephen Batoras' Ostensible "Lithuanian Taler."

* * *

The Ducat

Among gold coins, Batoras has left to history only one Lithuanian ducat, struck in Vilnius in 1586. But the 19th century counterfeiter Iglis of Lvov and others have fabricated ducats, so when handling and examining historical coins, one must keep that possibility always in mind. Particularly one must evaluate carefully ducats without date of issue, or with unknown dates: this type of error upon genuine gold coins would not have

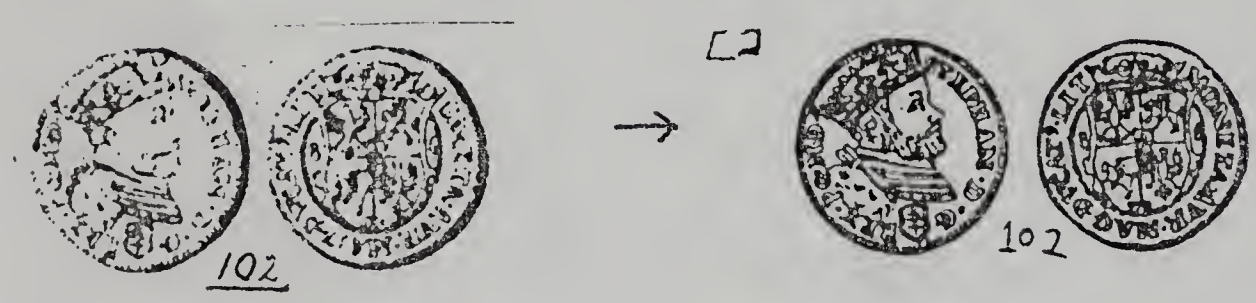


Figure 102. Stephen Batoras' Lithuanian Ducat.

been tolerated when emitted from the Mint.

The weight and gold content of this ducat---was like all ducats, since the coin must conform to traditionally related coins of Europe. Below the bust of Batoras is to be seen the crest of the noble Lithuanian L. Sapiega! The personal mark of such a high dignitary testifies once again that gold coins were struck separately from silver in Vilnius, with special care of the ruler, and superintended by those of highest loyalty.

Batoras' ducat is a correct rendering of the Grand Duchy's coin of those days. The legends on both sides correspond to those antedating the Union of Lublin. The doubled crests of both states are not essentially changed. Since those coins were spread widely over other countries, very few of them have been found in Poland or Lithuania. The cheaper silver coins were found much more plentifully in hoards.

In addition to ducats, some of the older numismatic volumes mention also the 10 ducat "Lithuanian Portugalers" of Batoras. These, as we already have said, are plain fiction. They are struck from dies of silver talers, so were not gold coins, but just gold medallions and medals. Of course, they could have accomplished the function of coins at some time or other, but just as a certain lump of gold always and everywhere, would have a corresponding value. However, their basic purpose, most probably was a concealed desire of Batoras to perpetuate his name and face in gold. Similar "coins" are known in more ancient history. They are valued only as memorial items, historical and artistic commemoratives, but they did not enter into normal circulation.

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3. SIGISMUND VASA'S "HORN OF PLENTY" 1587-1632"

Upon the death of Stephen Batoras in 1586, Sigismund Vasa, Prince of Sweden, was elected his successor as ruler of the Polish-Lithuanian state. He was the third Sigismund on the Polish throne, so in Lithuania we call him Sigismundus III, and on coins, his name and title are spelled out in Latin as "SIGISMUNDUS III DEI GRATIA REX POLONIAE MAGNUS DUX LITHUANIAE." (Of course, because of lack of space, those words are abbreviated at will). During his reign, the Vilnius mint operated almost without interruption for